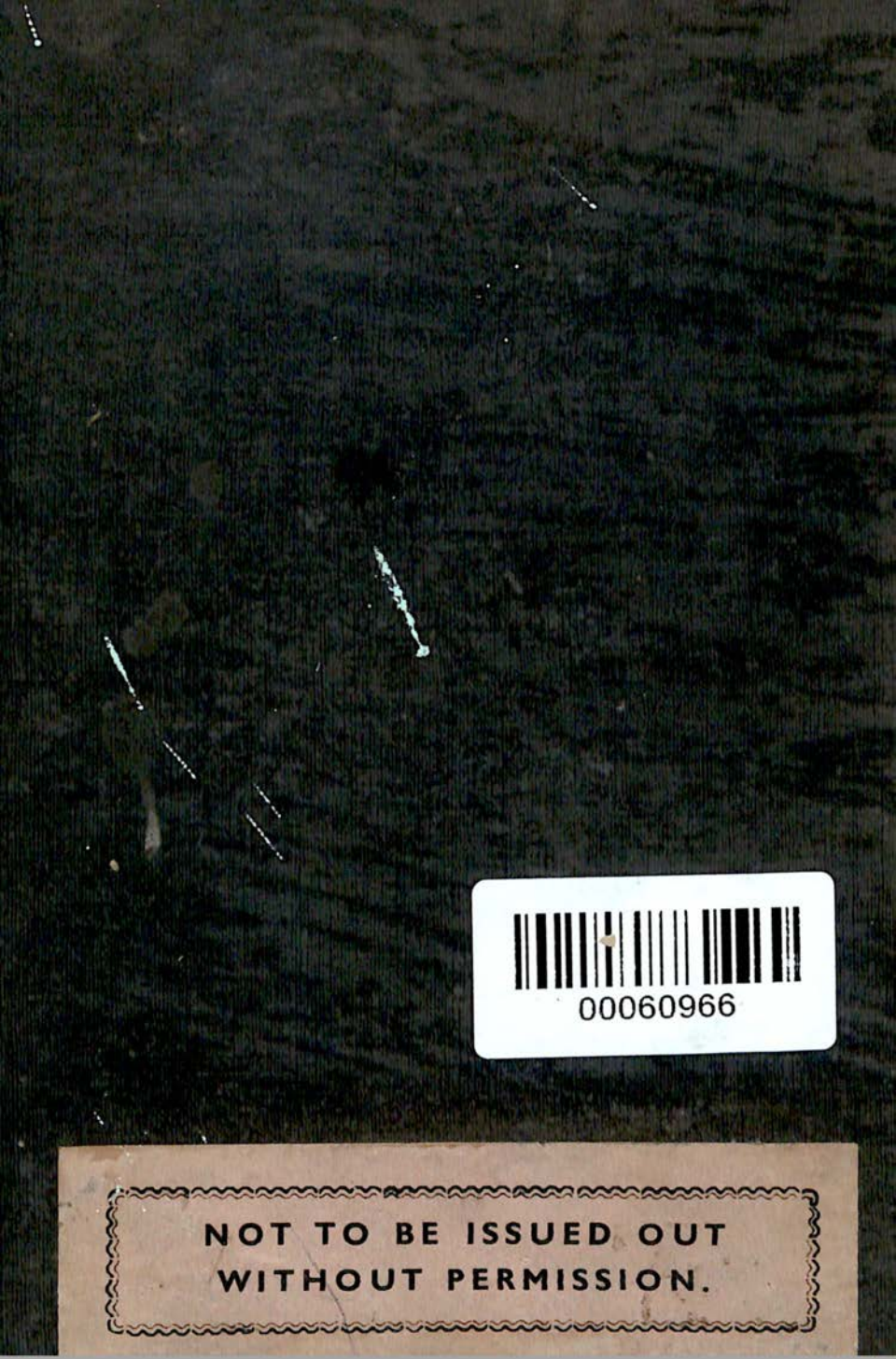
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THE VOYAGE

OF

JOHN HUYGHEN VAN LINSCHOTEN

TO THE

EAST INDIES.

FROM THE OLD ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF 1598.

THE FIRST BOOK,

CONTAINING HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE EAST.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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Edited,

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VOYAGE OF VAN LINSCHOTEN.

The First Booke.

(Continued.)

The 46. Chapter.

Of the Elephant.

Elephantes are in many places of India, specially in the Countrey of Æthiopia, [lying] behind Mosambique among the blacke Caffares,[1] where commonly they kill and eate them, and sell their teeth unto the Portingalles. They are found also in India,[2] and in Bengala, & in Pegu great numbers, where they [use to] hunt them with great troupes of men, and tame Elephantes, and so compasse, and get into a heape a thousand or two [at the least], whereof they choose out a hundreth or more as they néede, and let the other go, that the Countrey may alwaies have great store. Those they [doe] in time [bring up and] learne [them to travel] with [them, and to indure][3] hunger and thirst, [with] other inventions, so long that they beginne to understande men when they speake. Then they annoint them with Oyle, and wash them, and so do them great good, whereby they become as tame and gentle as men, so that they want nothing but speech. In the kingdome of Sion[4] there are also very many, where they say there was a white Elephant, which the men of Pegu prayed unto, and called[5] it

[1] Orig. Dutch : "black (persons) or Caffres".
[2] Orig. Dutch : "..... all India".....
[3] Orig. Dutch : (add) threats, ...
[4] Sion=Siam.
[5] Orig. Dutch : "pray unto and call".

the king of Elephantes, holding it in honor and estimation like a God: for the which Elephant there rose great warre betweene the Countrey of Pegu and Sion, as in the description of those Countries I have already declared.[1] In the Island of Seylon there are also great numbers, which are esteemed the best and sensiblest of all the worlde, for wheresoever they meet with any other Elephantes (the Indians report for a truth, that they have tryed it) those Elephants of other Countries do reverence and honor to the Elephants of Seylon.[2] The most service that they use them for in India, is to draw their pipes, buttes, packes, and other goodes, and to ship them, all [which they do] with Elephants. They are kept at the kings charges, and he that needeth them, speaketh to their keepers,[3] and agreeth with them for a price [to have their labour]: Then the keeper getteth upon the necke [of the Elephant] and thrusteth his feet under his eares, having a hooke in his hand, which he sticketh on his head, where his stones[4] lye, that is to say above betweene both his eares, which is the cause, that they are so well able to rule them: and comming to the thing which they are to draw, they binde the fat or packe fast with a rope that he may feele the waight thereof, and then the keeper speaketh unto him: whereuppon hee taketh the corde with his snout, and windeth it about his teeth, and thrusteth the end into his mouth, & so draweth it hanging [after him], whether they desire to have it. If it be to be put into a boate, then they bring the boate close to the shore of the Key,[5] and the Elephant putteth it into the boate himselfe, and with his snout gathereth stones together,

[1] See above, vol. i, p. 98, and note 1.

[2] Cfr. vol. i, p. 80. Tennent (*Ceylon*, Part VIII, ch. vi; edition of 1859, ii, 380) attributes this story to Tavernier, but Tavernier adopted it perhaps from Linschoten.

[3] Orig. Dutch: "..... their masters or keepers".....

[4] Orig. Dutch: "testiculos".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "aende wal ofte kay" (to the shore or the wharf).

which he laieth under the fat, [pipe, or packe] & with his teeth striketh [and thrusteth the packe or vessel,] to see if it be foul or not. It will draw any great shot or other Iron-work, or mettall, being made fast unto it, be it never so heavie: they draw fustes, small Gallies, and other great boats, as carvels, and such like, as easily out of the water upon the land, as if no man were in them[1]: so that they serve their turnes there, even as our slids or carts with horses doe here to carrie our wares and marchandises]; their meat is rice and water, they sleepe like kine, oxen, horses, and all foure footed beastes, and bow their knees and all their members as other beasts doe. In winter when it beginneth to raine, then they are unquiet,[2] and altogether mad, so that their keepers cannot rule them, and then they are let some whether out of the towne to a great tree, and there tyed unto it by the legs with a great iron chaine, where they cary him meate, and so hee lieth in the open aire as long as he is mad, which is from Aprill to September, all the Winter time when it raineth, and then he commeth to himselfe, and beginneth to serve againe as tamely, that a man may lie[3] under his bellie, so you doe him no hurt: but he that hurteth him, hee must take heede, for they never forget when any man doth them iniurie, untill they be revenged. Their teeth which is the Ivory bone, is much used in India, specially in Cambaia, whereof they make many curious peeces of workemanship, the women weare manillas, or arme bracelets thereof, ten or twelve about each arme, whereby it is there much worne,[4] and are in great numbers brought out of Aethiopia, Mosambique and other places. In the Island of Seylon and Pegu, they fight most upon Ele-

[1] Orig. Dutch: "oft niemant daer en waer" (as if no man were present).
[2] Orig. Dutch: "tochtig" (ruttish).
[3] Orig. Dutch: "door cruypen" (creep through).
[4] Orig. Dutch: "bought".

phants, and bind swords upon their teeth, they have likewise woodden Castles uppon their backes, wherein are[1] five or sixe men, that shoot out of them with bowes, or pecces, and also cast out wildfire.[2] They doe no other hurt but onely serve to put the enemie out of order, and to scatter them out of their rankes, but if any one of them [once] turneth his backe, then they all begin to turne & runne over their owne people, and put them all out of order. They are very feare-full of a rat or a mouse, and also of the Pismyres, because they feare they would creepe into their snouts. They are likewise afraide of gunne shot and of fire, unlesse by length of time they be used unto them. When they have [the] companie[3] one of the other, the male Elephant standeth upon the higher ground, and the female somewhat lower. As they goe along the way, although you see them not, you may heare them a farre off by the noyse[4] of their feet and clapping of their eares, which they continually use.[5] They are as swift in going almost as a horse, and are very proud, and desirous of honour. When there is any great feast or holiday[6] kept in Goa, with solemn procession, commonly the Elephants go with them, the yong before, and the old behind, and are all painted uppon their bodies[7] with the Armes and Crosses of Portingall, & have every one five or six trumpetters or players upon the Shalmes, sitting uppon them [that sound very pleasantly], wherewith they are as well pleased, and goe with as great gravitie and in as good order as if they were men. It hapned in Goa, that an Elephant shuld draw a great fust out of the water unto the land, which fust was so great and heavie, that hee could

[1] Orig. Dutch: "stand".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "fire-pans".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "access or cohabitation".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "thunder".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "which always go up and down".
[6] Orig. Dutch: "Sacrament-day, or any great holiday".
[7] Orig. Dutch: "body and head".

it alone, so that they must have another to help him: whereupon the keeper chid him, using many hard wordes, saying, that he was idle and weak, and that it would be an everlasting shame for him, that they must fetch another to helpe him, wherewith the Elephant was so desperate, that he thrust away his fellow (which was brought to help him) and began freshly againe to draw, with so great a force,[1] more then hee was well able to doe, that [with extreame labour] hee burst and fell downe starke dead in the place. At such time as I was to make my voyage from Cochin to Portingall, the Rudder of our ship was out of order, so that it must of force be brought on land to make it fit againe, and so it was drawn to the river side at the sterne of the boat, which the Elephant should draw on land uppon two bordes, that it might slide up, and because it was heavie, (as the Rudder of a ship of 1,400 or 1,600 tunnes requireth) as also that the Elephant was as yet but yong, and not growne to his full strength, so that he could not draw it out alone, yet he did the best hee could: but seeing hee could not doe it, he fell on his fore legges, and began to crie and weepe, that the teares ran out of his eyes, and because many of us stoode upon the shore to behold this sight, the keeper began to chide him, and with hard words to curse him, because he shamed him thus in presence of so many men,[2] [not to be able to draw up such a thing:] but what strength or labour soever the Elephant used, he could not doe it alone, but when they brought another Elephant to help him, they both together drew it halfe out of the water, so that it lay partly uppon the bordes. The first Elephant perceiving that with his head and teeth thrust the other Elephant away, and would have no more helpe, but drew it out himselfe: whereby it may bee considered, that they are in understanding and desire of commendation like unto men.

[1] Orig. Dutch: "force and madness".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "that he should shame himself before the spectators".

They are likewise very thankefull and mindfull of any good done unto them. When new yeares day commeth, their keepers use of common custome to aske new yeres gifts of the Viceroy, the Archbishop, and other governours and gentlemen, and then the Elephants come to the dore[1] and bow their heads downe, and when any thing is given, they kneele on their knees with great lowlinesse,[2] [and thankefulnesse] for the good deedes so done unto their keepers (which they think to bee done unto themselves). They use as they passe by such houses, to bow their heads at the doores, as also when they passe by the Church doores, and by crosses, which their Masters teach them. They have a custome that they goe often into the market where herbes are sold, as Reddish, Lettice, Colworts, and such like stuffe, and those that are liberall to the Elephant, doe use to throw something before him. Among the rest there was an Hearb wife which alwaies used to throw something of her wares before the Elephant.[3] Now when the time came on that the Elephant groweth mad, as I said before, they use to goe with them three or foure dayes or a weeke about the streets before they bind them up, (beeing as then but halfe mad) to ask something of every body for the feeding of the mad Elephant in the winter time. And going thus about the streetes, the master is not able to rule him, for hee runneth about with his head downeward,[4] and by his roaring[5] giveth the people warning to beware, and[6] [when he findeth or] seeth no man, [hee] leapeth and overthroweth whatsoever he meeteth withall, whereby hee maketh[7] great sport and pastime, much like to the baiting of oxen[8] in

[1] Orig. Dutch : (add) " or in the place".
[2] Orig. Dutch : " reverence".
[3] This story is from Acosta's *Tractado*.—[B.]
[4] Orig. Dutch : " met koppen int hondert" (without seeing anything).
[5] Orig. Dutch : " with calling" (is said of the master).
[6] Orig. Dutch : " because he".
[7] Orig. Dutch : " they make".
[8] Orig. Dutch : " bull-fighting".

Spaine, which never ceaseth, until one, two, or more of them be slaine, the like rule is kept with the mad Elephant in India. It chanced in this running about, that the Elephant ran through the streets, and in haste at unwares came into the market, throwing downe all that was in his way, whereat every man was abasht, and leaving their ware, ranne to save themselves from being over run by the Elephant, and by means of the noyse and prease of people, they fell one over another, as in such rases is commonly seene. Among them was this woman, that alwaies used to give the Elephant some thing to eat, which had a little childe in the market lying by her in a basket, and by the hastie rising up and throng of the people, the woman ran into a house, not having time to snatch up her Child, and take it with her, and: when the Elephant was alone in the market place, where he roared[1] up and downe, overthrowing all things that were before him, hee came by the child (that as I said) lay still in the market, and [as] every man [looked,] specially the mother, which cried out, [&] verily thought that the Elephant had taken it[2] [and cast it on his shoulder] and spoiled it as he did all other thinges. Hee on the contrarie notwithstanding all his madnesse, being mindfull of the [good will and] liberalitie of the childes mother dayly used unto him, took up the child handsomelie [and tenderly] with his snout, and layde it softly upon a stall by a shop side, which done, hee began againe to use the same order of stamping, crying, and clapping[3] as he had done at the first, to the great wondering of al that beheld it, specially to the ease and ioy of the mother, that had recovered her child sound and well againe. These and such like examples do often[4] happen in India, which would be too long to rehearse, and therfore I thought good onely to set

[1] Orig. Dutch: "leaped".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "should take it and spoil it".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "beyren" (swinging, tottering).
[4] Orig. Dutch: "daily".

these three or foure before your eyes, as things worthy memorie, thereby to teach us to bee mindfull of all good deeds done unto us, and with thankfulnes to requite them, considering that these dumbe beastes doe shew us, as it were in a glasse, that wee should doe so as they doe, not onely when they have their sence and understanding, but (which is more to bee wondred at) when they are[1] out of their wits [and starke mad:] whereas men many times having all their understanding, and their fine wits sound, do cast the benefits, which they have received behind their backs, yea, and at this day doe reward all good deedes with unthankfulnesse, God amend it.

The 47. Chapter.

Of the Abadas or Rhinoceros.

The Abada or Rhinoceros[2] is not in India,[3] but onely in Bengala, and Patane. They are lesse and lower then the Elephant. It hath a short horne upon the nose, in the hinder part somewhat big, & toward the end sharper, of a browne blew,[4] and whitish colour, it hath a snout like a hogge, and the skin uppon the upper part of his body is all wrinckled, as if it were armed with Shields [or Targets]. It is a great enemie of the Elephant. Some thinke it is the

[1] Orig. Dutch: "in times that they are half or wholly", etc.

[2] Abada or Bada (*e.g.*, in Eredia, f. 18) is the name of the rhinoceros used by the Portuguese after their discovery of the East. It is clearly the Malay name *badak* which would be heard in the Malay country, where the animal is common. The Portuguese might have seen the rhinoceros still earlier at Sofala, but Bleek (*Languages of Mosambique*, pp. 52, 53) does not give any African name from which this word could be derived. Both forms (*abada* and *bada*) are given by Bluteau and Moraes. But Barbosa (1611) has only the first.—[B.]

[3] *I.e.*, the West Coast, cfr. *n.* 3, on p. 64 and p. 62 of vol. i.

[4] Orig. Dutch: "dark blue".

right Unicorne, because that as yet there hath no other bin found, but only by hearesay, and by the pictures of them. The Portingales and those of Bengala affirme, that by the River Ganges in the Kingdome of Bengala, are many of these Rhinoceros, which when they will drinke, the other beasts stand and waite upon them, till the Rhinoceros hath drunke, and thrust their[1] horne into the water, for he cannot drink but his horne must be under the water because it standeth so close unto his nose, and muzzle: and then after him all the other beastes doe drinke. Their hornes in India are much esteemed and used against all venime, poyson,[2] and

[1] Orig. Dutch: "his".

[2] The unicorn's horn was supposed by the ancient writers on medicine to be of use against poison, and the same belief seems to have arisen as regards the rhinoceros' horn, because it was taken to be the unicorn's horn, as Van Linschoten says. So late a writer as Monardes believed that he had seen a piece of unicorn's horn; but it is clear that the idea of the unicorn's horn has arisen out of myths with which the narwhal's horn was eventually connected (as Col. Yule showed, *Marco Polo*, ii, p. 273); and when, with increased knowledge, the unicorn was found not to exist, the rhinoceros' horn was assumed to be the unicorn's horn. The delusion about the "virtues" of such horns lasted in Europe till the seventeenth century, when the illustrious Redi exposed it. In the East it seems to be still believed, *e.g.*, the *Taleef Shereef* (translated by Playfair, 1833), says: "Its (the rhinoceros') flesh is used in disorders of wind, and decreases urine and fæces. The smoke of the horn while burning is excellent for the cure of piles, and for producing easy labour; drinking water from a cup made of the horn will also cure the piles" (p. 141). What Redi states is interesting: "Raccontono maraviglie del sangue del suddetto Rinoceronte nel guarire i dolori colici, nello stagnere i flussi di sangue, e nel provocare i soliti, e necessari fiori alle donne (che pur son dal virtù tra di loro contrarie). Dicono che la pelle di questo animale infusa lungamente, e bollita nell' acqua, e poscia per tre giorni continui bevutane la decozione, sia medicina sicurissima a coloro, che per languidezza di stomaco, o per qualsisia altra cagione, aborriscono il cibo, e son tormentati da continua inappetenza. Ed il volgo, che ama grandemente d' essere ingannato, e che ha tutta la sua speranza nelle cose pellegrine, e difficili ad ottenersi, lo crede facilissimamente, ma io non so indurmici, perchè ne parlo dopo averne fatte molte prove; E che non si dice egli, e che non si predica delle virtù del corno di questo stesso animale valevole a difendere il cuore, e la vita da qualsisia veleno? e pure lo non ne ho

many other diseases: likewise his teeth, clawes, flesh, skin and blood, and his very dung, and water and all whatsoever is about him, is much esteemed in India, and used for the curing of many diseases and sicknesses, which is very good and most true, as I my selfe[1] by experience have found; but it is to be understood, that all Rhinocerotes are not a like good, for there are some whose hornes are sold for one, two, or three hundred Pardawes the peece, and there are others of the same colour and greatnes that are sold but for three or foure Pardawes, which the Indians know and can discerne. The cause is that some Rhinocerotes, which are found in certaine places in the countrie of Bengala have this vertue, by reason of the hearbes which that place only yeeldeth and bringeth foorth, which in other places is not so, and this estimation is not onely held of the horne, but of all other things in his whole body, as I saide before. There are also by Malacca, Sion, and Bengala some goates[2] that are wild, whose hornes are esteemed for the best hornes against poyson, and all venime that may be found: they are called Cabras de Mato, yt. is, wilde Goates. These hornes are of great account in India, and much esteemed, and are oftentimes by experience found to bee verie good, wherof I my self am a good witnes, having prooved the same. In the yeare 1581. as king Phillip was at Lisbone, there was a Rhinoceros and an Elephant brought him out of India for a present, and he caused them both to be led with him unto Madril, where the Spanish Court is holden. This shal suffice as touching beastes and birdes in those countries, although there are many others which are not so well knowne: therefore I have heere set downe none but such as are dayly seene

veduto un minimo effetto alcuno delle corna della gran bestia contro' 'l mal caduco"..... (F. Redi, *Esperienze intorno a diverse cose naturali*, 4to., 1686, ff. 79-80).—[B.]

[1] Orig. Dutch: "in some cases".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "bucks or goats" (goats, male and female).

[there in the land], and well known [by every man in the countrie].[1]

THE 48. CHAPTER.

Of the Fishes and other beastes in the Seas of India.

Fish in India is verie plentifull, and some very pleasant and sweete. The best fish is called Mordexiin, Pampano, and Tatiingo.[2] There is a fish called Piexe Serra,[3] which is cut in round peeces as we cut salmon, and salt it. It is very good, and wil indure long to carie over sea [in ships] for victuals. Most of their fish is eaten with rice, that they seeth in broth which they put upon the rice, and is somewhat sowre, as if it were sodden in gooseberries, or unripe grapes, but it tasteth well, and is called Carriil,[4] which is their dayly meat, the rice is in stead of bread: there are also good Shads, Soles, and other sortes of fishes. The Garnaten[5] is the best & greatest that ever I saw any, for that with a dozen of them a man may make a good meale. The Crabs and Crevishes are verie good and marvellous great, that it is a wonder to tell, and that which is more wonderful, when the moone is in the full, here with us it is a common saying, that then Crabbes, and crevishes are at the best, but there it is cleane contrarie: for with a full moone they are emptie and

Orig. Dutch: "..... to avoid all uncertainty".

[2] The first name is the Konkanī *Murdaxy*, as it is usually written, which is explained as the fish called *Madama* in Portuguese. The second is the Pomfret of the English, spp. of *Stromateus*. The third seems to be also Portuguese, and is, probably, corrupt; I cannot find it either in Bluteau or Moraes, nor in the Portuguese *Konkanī Dictionary*.—[B.]

[3] *I.e.*, the "Seer" fish, *read* "peixe serra".—[B.] Several spp. of *Cybium*.

[4] *I.e.*, Curry. Carril is the Canarese form of the word. The English have, perhaps, abridged it; or, rather, adapted the Tamil form Kari. In Hind. the latter form has been adopted—Karhī.—[B.]

[5] Orig. Dutch: "Garnaet", *i.e.*, "shrimp".

out of season, and with a newe moone good and full. There are also Muskles and such like shelfishes of many sorts, oysters very many, specially at Cochin; & from thence to the cape de Comoriin.[1] Fish in India is very good cheape, for yt. with the valew of a[2] stivers of their money, a man may buy as much fish and rice to it, as will serve five or sixe men for a good meale, after the Spanish manner, which is very good cheape, in respect of their victuals[3] in Spaine and Portingall.

There is in the rivers, and also in the Sea along the coast of India great store of fishes, which the Portingalls call Tubaron or Hayen.[4] This fish doth great mischiefe, and devoureth many men that fish for pearles,[5] and therefore they dare not[6] swimme in the rivers for feare of these fishes, but doe use to bath themselves in cesternes, made for the same purpose, as I said before. As our ship lay in the River of Cochin, readie to sayle from thence to Portingall, it hapned that as we were to hang on our rutter, which as then was mended, the master of the ship, with 4 or 5 saylers, went with the boat to put it on, and an [other] Sayler beeing made fast with a corde [about his middle, and tied] to the ship, hung downe with halfe his body into the water to place[7]

[1] So also at Negapatam. They are generally to be found where the drainage of a town enters a backwater in the sea, and are very unwholesome.—[B.]

[2] Orig. Dutch: "a pair of stivers" (een paar stuyvers).

[3] Orig. Dutch: "in respect of the dearness and (*sic*) the market of S. and P."

[4] *I.e.*, sharks, excessively common in the tropical seas. Port. "tabarão".—[B.] "Hayen" is the Dutch name (sing. Haai).

[5] This is not correct. Sir E. Tennent says (*Ceylon*, vol. ii, 1859, p. 565): "Strange to say, though the Gulf of Manaar abounds with these hideous creatures, not more than one well-authenticated accident is known to have occurred from this source during any pearl fishery since the British have had possession of Ceylon."

[6] Orig. Dutch: "not much".

[7] Orig. Dutch: "to help with placing".

the same upon the hookes, and [while he hung in the water,] there came one of those Hayens, and bit one of his legs, to the middle of his thigh, cleane off at a bit, notwithstanding that the Master stroke at him with an oare, and as the poore man was putting downe his arme to feele his wound, the same Fish at the second time for an other bit did bite off his hand and arme above the elbow, and also a peece of his buttucke.

The Master and all the Saylers in the Boate not being able to help him, although they both [stroke and] flang at it with staves and oares, and in that miserable case the poore man was carried into the Hospitall, where we left him with small hope[1] of life, [and how he sped after that God knoweth,] for the next day we set sayle [and put to Sea]. These and such like chances happen dayly by those fishes in India, as well in the sea, as in the Rivers, specially among the Fishers for Pearles,[2] whereof many loose their lives.

In the River of Goa in Winter time[3] when the mouth of the River was shut up, as commonly at that time it is, the fishermen tooke a fish of a most wonderfull and strange forme, such as I thinke was never seene eyther in India, or in any other place, which for the strangenes therof was presented to my Lord the Archbishop, the picture whereof by his commandement was painted, and for a wonder sent to the King of Spaine.

It was in bignes, as great as a middle sized Dogge[4] with a snout like a hogge, small eies; no eares, but two holes where his eares should bee, it had foure feet like an Elephant, the tayle beginning somewhat uppon the backe broad, and then

[1] Orig. Dutch: "hope or desire".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "fishers and pearl-divers".

[3] *I.e.*, in the rainy season, from May to October.—[B.]

[4] This description makes it probable that the animal was a "pangolin", or ant-eater (*Manis pentadactyla*), which the ignorant natives class as a fish! Cfr. Jerdon's *Mammals of India*, pp. 314, ffg.—[B.]

flatte, and at the verie end round and somewhat sharpe. It ranne a long the hall uppon the flore, [and in evrie place] of the house snorting like a hogge. The whole body, head, taile, & legs being covered with scales of a thumb breadth,[1] harder than Iron or Steele: Wee hewed [and layd] uppon them [with weapons,] as if men should beate upon an Anvil, and when wee stroke uppon him, hee rouled himselfe in a heape, head and feete altogether, so that hee lay like a round ball, wee not beeing able to iudge where he closed himself together, neyther could wee with anie instrument or strength of hands open him againe, but letting him alone and not touching him, hee opened himselfe and ranne away as I said before.

And because I am now in hand with Fishes of India, I will here declare a short and true Historie of a Fish, although to some it may seeme incredible, but it standeth painted in the Viceroyes Pallace in India, and was set downe by true and credible witnesses that it was so, and therefore it standeth there for memorie of a wonderfull thing, together with the names and surnames of the ship, Captaine, day & yere when it was done, and as yet there are many men living at this day, that were in the same shippe and adventure, for that it is not long since, and it was thus. That a ship sayling from Mosambique into India, and they having faire weather, a good fore winde, as much as the Sayles might beare before the winde for the space of fourtéene dayes [together], directing their course towards the Equinoctiall line, every day as they tooke the height of the Sunne, in stead of diminishing or lessening their degrees, according to the Winde and course they had and held, they found them selvès still contrarie, and every day further backewards [then they were, to the great admiration and wondering of them all, and] contrarie to all reason and mans understanding, so that they did not only wonder

[1] Orig. Dutch: "as great as the fore-joint of a thumb".

thereat, but were much abasht beeing stedfastly perswaded that they were bewitched, for they knew very well by experience, that the streame or course of the water in those countries did not drive them backe, nor withholde them contrarie to all Art of Navigation, whereupon they were all in great perplexity and feare, [standing still and] beholding each other, not once knowing the cause thereof.

At ye last the chief Boteson whom they call the masters mate,[1] looking by chance overbord towards the beakhead of the ship, he espied a great broad taile of a Fish that had winded it selfe as it were about the beakehead the body thereof beeing under the keele, and the heade under the Ruther, swimming in that manner, and drawing the shippe with her against the wind and their right course: whereby presently they knewe the cause of their so going backewards: so that having at the last stricken long with staves and other weapons oppon the fishes taile, in the ende they stroke it off, and thereby the fish left the ship, after it had layne 14 dayes under the same, drawing the ship with it against wind and weather: for which cause the Viceroy in Goa caused it to be painted in his pallace for a perpetuall memory, where I haye often read it, with the day and time, and the name both of the shippe and Captaine, which I can not well remember, although it bee no great matter.

There are many other fishes in those seas and rivers. In the River of Bengala called Ganges, and by Malacca there are Crocodiles, and other sea Serpents of an unspeakeable greatness which often times doe overturne smal fisher boates and other scutes, and devoure the men that are therein: and some of them creeping out of the water unto the lande do snatch uppe divers men, which they hale after them, and then kill them and eate them,[2] as it dayly happeneth in

[1] Orig. Dutch: "den Hoogh-bootsman diese onder-Schipper noemen".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "..... lande, surprise the men, overtake, and devour them".

those Countries. There are by Malacca certaine fish shelles found on the shore, much like Scalop shelles,[1] so great and so heavie, that two strong men have enough to doe with a Leaver to draw one of them after them. Within them there is a fish which they of Malacca do eate. There were some of those shelles in the ballast of the shippe that came from Malacca, & kept company with us from the Island of S. Helena, to the Islande of Tercera, where the shippe was cast away, and some of the shelles taken out of her, which the Jesuites of Malacca had sent unto Lisbone, to set in the wals[2] of their church and Cloyster, which they there [had caused to bee made, and] most sumptuously built.

The like happened to a shippe called S. Peter, that sayled from Cochin towards Portingall, that fell upon a sande, which at this day is called after the same ships name S. Peters sande, lying from Goa South Southeast[3] under 6. degrees upon the South side, where it was cast away, but all the men saved themselves, and of the woode of the shippe that was cast away, they made a small [Barke or] Carvell, wherewith they all arrived in India: and while they were busied about building of their ship, they found such great Crabbes upon that sand, and in so great numbers that they were constrained to make a sconce, and by good watch to defend themselves from them, for that they were of an unreasonable[4] greatnes, so that whomsoever they got under their claws it cost him his life:[5] this is most true and not long since done, for that in the same shippe wherein I came out of India into Portingale, there were two of the Saylors that had béene in the same shippe called S. Peter, and affirmed it for a truth, as it is likewise paynted in divers places in Goa, for a perpetual memory, which I thought good

[1] Orig. Dutch: "sint Jacobs schulpen". Doubtless *Tridacne gigas*.
[2] Orig. Dutch: "front". [3] Orig. Dutch: "south southwest".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "abominable".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "..... and they devoured him".

to set downe, to shewe the strangenesse of those fishes: and it is to be thought that there are many other fishes and sea monsters, as yet to us not known, which [are dayly found by] such as continually use to sea, [and] doo often meete with [them]. And this shall be sufficient for the fishes & sea monsters of India.

THE 49. CHAPTER.

Of all fruits, trees, plants, and common hearbs in India, and first of a [certain] fruit called Ananas.

Ananas by the Canarijns called Ananasa, by the Brasilians Nanâ, and by others in Hispaniola Iaiama: by the Spaniards in Brasilia Pinas, because of a certain resemblance which the fruite hath with the Pine apple.[1] *It commeth out of the Province of Sancta Croce, first brought into Brasilia,*[2] *then to the Spanish Indies, and afterwardes into the East Indies, where nowe they grow in great abundance, of the bignes of Citrones or of a common Melon. They are of a faire colour, of a yellow greene, which greennes when it is ripe vadeth away. It is sweet in taste, & pleasant in smell, like to an Abricot, so that by the very smell of them a man may know the houses wherein these fruites are kept. A far off they shew like Artichokes, but they have no such sharpe prickes [on their leaves], the plants [or stalkes] whereon they grow are as bigge as a Thistle,*[3] *and have a roote also like a Thistle, whereon groweth but one Nut in the middle of the stalke, and rounde about it certaine small stalkes whereon some fruite likewise doeth often times grow.*[4] *I have had some of the Slips here in my garden, that were brought mee*

[1] *I.e.*, in modern English, the Pine-cone.—[Y.]

[2] Orig. Dutch: "Is from the province of Santa croce first, in Brasilia, thence brought into Spanish India", etc. Santa Cruz is the old name of Brasil.

[3] Orig. Dutch: "Cardon". Cardo (Lat. Carduus) is the Spanish word for thistle.

[4] Orig. Dutch: "of which some also bear fruit".

out of Brasilia, but our colde countrey could not brooke them. This fruite is hot and moist, and is eaten out of iwne like a Peach, light of digesture, but superfluous in nourishing:[1] *It inflameth and heateth, and consumeth the gums; by reason of the small threedes that run through it. There are many sortes of this fruite among the Brasilians, which according to the difference of their speeches have likewise different names, whereof three kindes are specially named and written of. The first called Taicama, which is the longest & the best of taste, and the substance of it yellow. The second Boniama, that is white within, and not very sweet*[2] *of taste. The thirde Iaiagna,*[3] *which is whitish within, and tasteth like Renish Wine. These fruites likewise do grow some of themselves as if they were planted, and are called wilde Ananasses, and some growe in gardens, whereof we now make*[4] *mention. The wilde*[5] *growe uppon stalkes of the length of a pike or Speare, rounde, and of the bignesse of an Orange, ful of thorns: the leaves likewise have sharpe pricks, and round about full of soft thornes: the fruite is little eaten, although they are of an indifferent pleasant taste. The whole plantes with the rootes are full of iuyce, which being taken about seven or eight of the clocke in a morning, and drunke with Sugar, is holden for a most certaine remedie against the heate of the liver and the kidneyes, against exulcerated kidneyes, mattery water and excoriation of the yarde. The Arabians commend it to be good against Saynt Anthonies fire, and call it Queura. He that is desirous to reade more hereof, let him reade Costa in the proper Chapter of Ananas, and Oviedius*[6] *in the eight booke, and eighteenth Chapter: and*

[1] Orig. Dutch: "but when too much is taken it inflames," etc.

[2] Orig. Dutch: "and very sweet" (mal soet).

[3] The names as given in Ramusio's Italian Oviedo are *Iaiama* (see preceding page), *Boniama*, and *Iaiagua* (*Ramus*, iii, f. 136*v*).

[4] Orig. Dutch: "have made".

[5] These are the Pandanus odoratissimus in India.—[B.]

[6] Oviedo, *Historia General de las Indias* (Salam., 1547). In his *Natural Hystoria de las Indias* (Toledo, 1526) it is spoken of f. 42.

Thevetius in his observations of America,[1] *in the six and fortieth Chapter. Ananas preserved in Sugar are like Cocumbers, whereof I have had many.*[2]

Ananas is one of the best fruites, and of best taste in all India, but it is not a proper fruit of India it selfe, but a strange fruite, for it was first brought by the Portingalles out of Brasille, so that at the first it was sold for a noveltie, at a Pardaw the peece, and sometimes more, but now there are so many growen in the Countrey, that they are very good cheape.[3] The time when they are rype is in Lent, for then they are best and sweetest of taste. They are as bigge as a Melon, and in forme like the heade of a Distaffe, without like a Pine apple, but softe in cutting: of colour redde and greenish: They growe about halfe a fadome high, from the grounde, not much more or lesse, the leaves are[4] like the Hearbe that is brought out of Spayne, called Aloe, or Semper viva, because it is alwayes greene, and therefore it is hanged on the beames of houses,[5] but somewhat smaller, and at the endes somewhat sharpe, as if they were cut out. When they eate them, they pull off the shell, and cutte them into slices or [peeces,] as men desire to have them drest. Some[6] have small kernelles within them, like the kernelles of Apples or Peares. They are of colour within like a Peach, that is ripe, and almost of the same taste, but in sweetnesse they surpasse all fruites. The iuyce thereof is like sweete Muste, [or newe Renish Wyne]: a man can never satisfie himselfe therewith. It is very hotte of nature,[7] for if you

[1] F. André Thevet, *Les Singularités de la France Antarctique* (Paris, 1558), fol. 89, 90.

[2] Note by D. Paludanus (Orig. Dutch).

[3] The pine-apple may now be said to have run wild in Malabar; but is uncommon and seldom cultivated on the East (or Coromandel) coast of S. India, as the Tamil people do not like the flavour.—[B.]

[4] Orig. Dutch: "are almost".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "in the houses".

[6] Orig. Dutch: "they".

[7] *I.e.*, very acid.

let a knife sticke in it but halfe an houre long, when you draw it forth again, it will bee halfe eaten uppe, yet it doeth no particular hurte, unlesse a man shoulde eate so much thereof, that hee surfet upon them, as many such greedie and unreasonable men there are, which eate all thinges without any measure [or discretion]. The sicke are forbidden to use them. The common way to dresse the [common] Ananasses, is to cut them in [broad] round [cakes or] slyces, and so being steeped in wine it is a very pleasant meat.

THE 50. CHAPTER.

Of Iaqua or Iaacca.

This [fruite] groweth in Calecut, and in some other places of India neere to the Sea, [and] upon [ryvers or] waters [sides.[1] *It is] a certaine fruite that in Malabar is called Iaca,*[2] *in Canara and Gusurate, Panar and Panasa, by the Arabians, Panax, by the Persians, Fanax.*[3] *This fruite groweth upon great trees, not out of the branches like other fruites, but out of the body*[4] *of the tree, above the earth, and under the leaves. The leaves are as bigge as a [mans] hand,*[5] *greenish; with thick hard veine that goeth cleane thorough the length [of them]. The smallest of this fruite, specially that which groweth in Malabar, [and is] the best [of all], is greater than our greatest Pum-*

[1] The jack (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) is not common in India, except on the West Coast [and in Bengal]. In Malabar and Travancore it supplies a most important article of food, by its fruit; and in Travancore this is almost a staple of food.—[B.]

[2] *I.e.*, the fruit only is called *čakka;* the tree is called *pilāva* in Malayâlam.—[B.]

[3] These are all derived from the Sanskrit name *panasa.*—[B.]

[4] Orig. Dutch: "..... body or trunk of the tree".

[5] Rather an exaggeration.—[B.]

pians[1] *(I meane of Portingall). They are without covered with a hard shell,*[2] *of colour greene, otherwise it is much like the Pine apple, save onely that the [shell or] huske seemeth to be set ful of pointed Diamants, which have certaine greene [and] short hookes [at the endes], but at the [verie] points are blackish, and yet are neither sharpe nor pricking although they seeme [so to be].*

These fruites are like Melons, and sometimes greater, outwardly greene, and inwardly Yelow, with many soft prickles, apparrelled [(as it were)] like a Hedgehog. Those that grow in Goa are not so good, nor of so good a taste as those in Malabar. This fruit being ripe, which is commonly in December, smelleth very sweete,[3] *and is of two sorts, whereof the best is called Barca, the other Papa,*[4] *which is not so good, and yet in handling it is soft like the other. The best cost about* 40. *Marvedies, which is somewhat more than a Ryall [of plate], and being ripe they are of a blackish colour, and with a hard huske, the outward part*[5] *thereof which compasseth the Nut, is of many tastes, some times it tasteth like a Melon, sometimes like a Peach, and [somewhat] pleasanter, (but in taste it is most like unto the Peach) sometimes like a Hony Combe, sometimes like a Citron,*[6] *but they are hard to digest, & do commonly come up*[7] *againe [out of the stomacke] undigested even as they were eaten. This fruit being cut up and opened longwise [in the middle], is white within, and full of meate, with many partitions ful of long Nuts, thicker and greater then Dates, with a graye skin, the Nut white, like our Chesnuts. Being greene they eate*

[1] Orig. Dutch: "..... dan onse grootste Flesschen ofte Pompoenen", "than our biggest bottles or pumpkins".

[2] Rather: "skin" or "husk".

[3] It has an offensive, fœtid odour also.—[B.]

[4] These two different kinds were early mentioned.—[B.] (See *Friar Jordanus*, Hakl. Soc., pp. 13-14, and *Ibn Batuta*, iii, 126, 127.)

[5] *I.e.*, the pulp which surrounds each of the nuts.—[B.]

[6] Orig. Dutch: "like a sweet citron".

[7] Orig. Dutch: "go down".

earthy, and sharpe of taste, and ingender much Wine,[1] *but being rosted or soden they are like our Chesnuts & are verie pleasant, they increase lust, for the which cause they are most used to bee eaten: They stop the Flux of the belly, the skin about them is heavie for the maw, and corrupting therein, doth breed many evil and pestilent humors, wherof such as eate much of this fruit, doe easily get the Plague, which the Indians call Morxi.*[2] *He that desireth to see more hereof, let him Reade Lodovicus Romanus,*[3] *in his fifth Booke and fiftcene Chapter of his Navigations, and Christopherus a Costa in his Cap. of Iaca, & Gracia ab Horto, in the second booke and fourth Chapter.*[4]

Iaacas grow on great trees like Nut trees, & onely on the sea shores, that is to say, in such countries as border on the seas,[5] cleane contrarie unto al other fruites, for they grow above[6] the earth, upon the trunkes [or bodies] of the trees, & upon the great thick branches, but where the branches spread abroad, being small and full of leaves, there groweth none: they are as big as a great Melon, and much like it of fashion, although some of them are as great as a man can well lift up, and outwardlie are like the Ananas, but smoother, and of a darke greene colour, the fruit within is in huskes, like Chesnuttes, but of an other forme, and everie huske hath a Nutte,[7] which is half white, the rest yellowish, and sticketh to a mans handes like honnie, when it is in the beehyves among the waxe, and for toughnesse & in taste for sweetnes not much unlike. The fruite is on the outside like a Chesnutte,[8] [and] in [forme or] fashion like an Acorne,

[1] Should be "wind". Orig. Dutch: "ende vele winden genererende".

[2] *I.e.*, *modaci*, or *modaxi*, *i.e.*, cholera.—[B.]

[3] *I.e.*, Varthema.

[4] Note by Paludanus (Orig. Dutch).

[5] All this appears to be taken from Garcia d'Orta's *Coloquios*, f. 121 (edic. de 1563).—[B.]

[6] Orig. Dutch: "right above".

[7] Orig. Dutch: "fruit".

[8] Orig. Dutch: "This fruit is the outside that sits on the chesnut which is", etc.

when the gréene knob that groweth under it[1] is taken away, and of that bignesse and some what bigger: this fruite[2] that is outmost being eaten, the rest[3] is good to be rosted or sodden, and are not much unlike in taste to the Chesnuts of Europa. There are of these huskes in every Iaacca a hundreth and more, according to the greatnes thereof. There are two sorts[4] of them, the best are called Girasal, and the common and least esteemed, Chambàsal, although in fashion and trées there is no difference, save that the Girasals have a sweeter taste. By this name Girasal & Chambasal, the Indians doe make difference of their Ryce, and other things: they call the best Girasal and the worst Chambasal, after the which names they have their prices: the Iaacas continue all the yeare.

THE 51. CHAPTER.

Of Mangas.

Mangas[5] *growe uppon great trees like Iaca trees, they have many branches, and are of quantitie*[6] *as bigge as a great Goose Egge, and in some places of India doe weigh two pounds, and more* [*the peece*]. *And many times* [*there are*] *of severall colours upon one tree, some being a light green, others Yelow, & some a reddish green, and for smel and taste pleasant, and not being perished, are of better tast than any Peach. As touching their name, they are commonly called Mangas, in*

[1] Orig. Dutch: "the hindermost green little husk".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "the fruit".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "the chesnut".
[4] This refers to what may be termed the crops of the fruit; there is no difference in the trees.—[B.]
[5] Malayâlam, "mānña", a mango fruit.—[K.]
[6] Orig. Dutch: "size".

Canarijn Ambo, of the Turkes and Persians, Amba.[1] *They beare fruit*[2] *upon the trees, from Aprill to November, according to the situation of the place, they growe in many places, but the best in Ormus, where before all other fruites they are desired, next unto them are those that grow in Gusarate, which for their goodnes are called Gusarates, they are smaller then the other, but of better taste & favor;*[3] *within they have a small Nut, [or kernell]. A thirde sort there is that groweth in Balagatte, and those are the greatest, for there are of them that waigh two pound & a quarter, of a verie pleasant taste. [Even so are those] that grow in Charanna, Quindor, Madanagor, and Dultabado, being the chiefe townes in the kingdome of Nisamoxa,*[4] *and like unto them are the Mangas of Bengala, Pegu, and Malacca. The shel*[5] *of them being taken off, is eaten in slices with wine, and also without Wine, as wee eate Peaches, they are also preserved; the better to keepe them, either in Suger, Vineger, Oyle, or Salt,*[6] *like Olives in Spaine [and] being a little opened with a Knife, [they are] stuffed with greene Ginger, headed Garlike, Mustard or such like,*[7] *they are sometimes eaten only with Salt, and sometimes sodden with Rice, as we doe Olives, and being thus conserved and sodden, are brought [to sell] in the market. This fruite is colde and moyst, although commonly they esteeme it to bee hotte, & say, it ingendereth a paine and griping in the maw, of such as eate it, and more over the Heathen Physitians say, it is hotte, and reiecte, [or*

[1] This is a common Prākrit form. The Sanskrit name is "āmra"; the common Hind. *ām* and *āmb*. From India the name has spread to Persia, etc.—[K.]

[2] Orig. Dutch: "They are found".

[3] Read "flavor", liter. "smell"; Dutch, "rueck".

[4] Nisamoxa = Nizâm Shah. See ch. 27. Ahmednagar was his residence; Daulatâbâd the old residence built by Mohammed Tughlak. [The text borrows from Garcia de Orta, f. 134*v*, in which the first two names are "*Chacana e Quidur*". Chacana is evidently *Chākan*, some 20 m. N. of Poona. Quindor *may* be *Chandor*.]

[5] "shel", *i.e.*, skins. (Orig. Dutch: "bast".)

[6] Orig. Dutch: "either in sugar, or in vinegar, oil, and salt".

[7] *I.e.*, mango pickle, now found even in England.—[B.]

refuse] it, because it ingendereth Saint Anthonies fire, Carbuncles,[1] *hotte burning Feavers, and swellings, with [scabbes and] scurvines: which I thinke happeneth to men that [eate] this fruite, [and being eaten,] lyeth corrupted in their Mawes, [or rather] by reason of the great heate [and season] of the yeare. At the time when this fruite is ripe, many doe fall into the forenamed diseases, although they eate none of this fruite. Before this fruite is fully ripe, it is somewhat hard*[2] *of taste, specially the inner part next to the Nut, but being ripe, [verie] sweete and savorie. The Nut that is within it, hath a hard huske [or shell], with hard threeds about it, wherein groweth a long Nut, as big as an Acorne, white within, and outwardly covered with a thin white skin. Being raw it is bitter of tast, therefore it is good against wormes, and loosenes of the belly: against wormes when it is eaten raw, and against loosenesse of the belly when it is*[3] *rosted, and then it tasteth like a rosted Acorne. There is an other kinde of this fruite without stones which is*[4] *very pleasant. There is also a third sorte, which is wilde, called Mangas Bravas, and is verie poyson, wherewith they poyson each other, for whosoever eateth but a small quantitie thereof, dyeth presently. They doe sometime mingle Oyle with it, to make it stronger, and*[5] *being taken [in that sort,] howsoever it be, it killeth very quickly, and as yet there was never any remedie found against*[6] *it. This fruite is light greene, and somewhat bright, full of white milky Iuice, and but a little meate. The Nut is covered with a hard shel as bigge as a Quince.*[7]

Mangas groweth upon trees like Iaaca trées: they are as

[1] Orig. Dutch: "wilt vuer, roose"..... The last is St. Anthony's fire (erysipelas); the first is translated by Kiliaen as "phlyctena, pusula".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "treckende" (astringens).

[3] Orig. Dutch: "when the nuts are".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "of which the sight is".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "but".

[6] Orig. Dutch: "to cure".

[7] Note by D. Paludanus (orig. Dutch).

big as a great Peach, but somewhat long, and a little crooked, of colour cleere green, somewhat yealowish,[1] and some times reddish: it hath within it a stone bigger then a Peach stone, but it is not good to be eaten: The Mangas is inwardly yealowish, but in cutting it is waterish, yet some not so much:[2] they have a verie pleasant taste, better than a Peach, and like the Annanas, which is ye best and ye most profitable fruit in al India, for it yeeldeth a great quantity for food & sustenance [of the countrie people], as Olives do in Spaine and Portingale: they are[3] gathered when they are greene, and conserved, and for the most part salted in pots, and commonlie used to be eaten with Rice, sodden in pure water, the huske being whole, and so eaten with salt Mangas, which is the continuall food for their slaves and common people, or else salt dried fish in steed of Mangas, without bread, for Rice is [in divers places] in steed of bread. These salted Mangas are in cutting like the white Spanish Olives, and almost of the same taste, but somewhat savorie[4] and not so bitter, yet a little sowre, and are in so great abundance, that it is wonderful: there are others that are salted and stuffed with small peeces of greene Ginger, and Garlike sodden: those they call Mangas Recheadas[5] or Machar:[6] they are likewise much used, but not so common as the other, for they are costlie and more esteemed: these are kept in pots with Oyle and Vineger salted. The season when Mangas are ripe is in Lent, and continueth till the Moneth of August.

[1] The best coloured representation of the mango fruit is in Forbes's *Oriental Memoirs*.—[B.]

[2] Orig. Dutch: "and in cutting it is fibrous (vlasachtigh), but some are smoother".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "are also".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "wat renscher" ("rynsch", from Rhine wine) = a little more sourish (Kil., acidulus), but in a good sense.

[5] *I.e.*, "stuffed mangoes" (Portuguese).—[B.]

[6] Read, as in the original, "Achar"= pickle, a Hind. word (from Persian).—[B.]

THE 52. CHAPTER.

Of Caions.[1]

This fruite groweth on great trees, not [*much*] *unlike Apple trees* (*but the yong trees have leaves, like Lawrell* [*or Bay leaves*] *they are of a pale green and thicke, with white blossoms like Oringe trees, but thicker of leaves, yet not so sweete of smell. The fruite is in greatnesse and forme like a Goose Egge, or a great Apple, verie yellow & of good savor,* [*moyst or*] *spungie within, and ful of Iuice, like Lemmons, but without kernels:*[2] *sweete of taste, but yet harsh*[3] *in a mans throat, they seeme not to have beene common in East India, but brought thether from Brasillia, where those Nuts are much eaten, although Thevet in his description of America* (61. *Chapter*) *writeth otherwise. At the end of this fruit groweth a Nut, of forme like the Kydney of a Hare, whereof I had many brought me by a Pylot of Por-*

[1] [*Caions* should probably be Caious, *i.e.*, cajous]. Cashew (*Anacardium Occidentale*). The name is, like the tree, from Brazil. The tree is little more than a shrub in size. Since it was introduced by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century it has run wild on the West Malabar coast, and covered immense tracts by the sea. It is also very common on the Coromandel coast. This seems to have been soon the case, for Linschoten says (at the end of this chapter) that they were common all over India, *i.e.*, about 1590. Mahn ("Etym. Untersuchungen," s.v. *Atajou*, p. 144) has mixed up several distinct words together. As regards cashew he has, through excess of care and through acceptance of an unfounded statement by D. Forbes (Hind. Dict., s.v. kājū, *i.e.*, cashew) pronounced it to be an Indian (Dravidian) word. But it is nothing of the kind, and instead of the Portuguese taking the word from S. India to Brazil, as Mahn supposes, it is certainly a Brazilian word imported into India by the Portuguese. The Tamil name is *e.g.* Mundiri, referring to the form of the nut, and "kājū" is only found in Dravidian dialects (*e.g.*, Malayâlam) influenced by the Portuguese. The Malays have a name ("Būwa frangi," Flax., p. 64), which shows that it is not indigenous in the Archipelago, though they also use "kaju".—[B.]

[2] Properly speaking, the so-called fruit is an enlarged pedicle, and not a fruit. The trees are always small, not "great", as Paludanus states.—[B.]

[3] Orig. Dutch: "a little astringent".

tingall of an Ash colour, or when they are ripe of a reddish Ash colour. These Nuts have two partitions, betweene which two [partitions,] there is a [certaine] spongious fattie matter like Oyle, hotte and sharpe, but in the innermost part thereof is a white kernell very pleasant to eate, like Pistaccios,[1] *with a gray skin over it, which is pulled off. These Nuts being a little rosted are eaten in that sort, & [used to] provoke lust. The fruit and also the Nuts are used in bankets, being eaten with wine & without wine, because of their good taste. They are good for the weaknesse of the Maw, and against perbreaking, and loathing of meate, but such as will not use them to that ende, doe eate them only dipped or steeped in a little water; the sharpe Oyle betweene both the partitions is verie good for Saint Anthonies fire,*[2] *and flashing in mens faces.*[3] *The Brasilians use it against scuffes; this tree [was at the first] planted of*[4] *the [very] Nut, but the first and greatest fruite, had neither seede nor kernell; some thinke it to bee a kind of Anacardij, because it is very like it, for the sharpe iuyce that is betweene the partitions. Reade more hereafter in Carolus Clusius his observations uppon Graciam.*[5] *(first Booke and third Chapter.)*[6]

Cajus groweth on trees like apple trees, [and] are of the bignes of a Peare, [at one end] by the stalk somewhat sharp, and at the head thicker, of a yelowish colour, being ripe they are soft in handling: they grow very like aples; for wher the apples have a stalke, these Cajus have a Chesnut, as big as the fore ioynt of a mans thumb; they have an other colour and fashion then the Chesnuts of Iaqua, and are

[1] Cashew nuts roasted form a favourite dessert dish of Europeans in India, and are largely used by the natives in sweetmeats. They were called "promotion nuts" formerly, as they were supposed to be unhealthy, but for this there is no good reason.—[B.]

[2] Orig. Dutch: "wilt vuer" (see p. 25).

[3] Orig. Dutch: "vleckheyt" (spottiness).

[4] Orig. Dutch: "is propagated by".

[5] *I.e.*, Garcia de Orta.

[6] Note by D. Paludanus (orig. Dutch).

better and more savorie to eate, but they must be rosted; within they are white like ye Chesnuts of Europa, but have thicker shelles, which are of colour blewish and dark greene. When they are raw and unrosted, you must not open them with your mouth, for as soone as you put them to your mouth, they make both your tongue and your lippes to smart,[1] whereby such as know it not are deceived wherefore you must open their shelles with a knife, or rost them, [and then they wil peele.][2] This fruite at the ende[3] [wher] the stalke groweth; in the eating doth worke[4] in a mans throate, and maketh it swel, yet it is of a fyne[5] taste, for it is moyst and full of iuice, they are commonlie cut in round slices, and layd in a dish with water or wyne, and salt throwne upon them, for so they do not worke so stronglie, but are verie good and savorie to eate: the time when they are ripe is in Lent, and in Winter time, like Mangas, but not so good as Mangas or Ananas, and of lesse account. They are likewise in great numbers over all India.

The 53. Chapter.

Of Iambos.[6]

In India ther is another fruit that for the beautie, pleasant taste, smell, and medicinable vertue thereof, is worthie to bee written of, and is of great account in India, being first

[1] Orig. Dutch: "for when you touch them with your lips or your tongue, the skin will instantly be bitten off and cause much pain".

[2] Orig Dutch: "when you will enjoy them" (wiltmen daer deech af hebben).

[3] Here is omitted, "what should be the foremost of an apple, there".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "worght" (Kil., stringere gulam vel guttur).

[5] Orig. Dutch: "rensch". See p. 26.

[6] Jambo, *i.e.*, fruit of the *Eugenia Jambolana*, commonly called "rose-apples" in India. This name appears to be also applied to the fruits of the "Jambosa Malaccensis" and of the Sonneratia rubra (?)—[B.]

brought out of Malacca into India.[1] *The tree whereon this fruite groweth, is as great as the greatest Orange tree in all Spainè, with manye branches which spread verie broade, and make much shadow, [and is] faire to behold. The bodie and great branches thereof have an ash colour-gray barke, the leaves are faire & soft, longer then the breadth of a hand, they are somewhat like the point of a Speare [or Pike], with a thicke threed [or, veine] in the middle, and many small veines [or branches] in the sides: outwardly verie greene; and inwardly [somewhat] bleaker, with blossomes of a lively darke Purple colour,*[2] *with many streekes in the middle, verie pleasant to beholde, and of taste like the twynings or tendrels*[3] *of a Vine. The fruite is as bigge as a Peare, or (as some are of opinion) of the bignesse and colour of a great Spanish Wal-nut, they tooke their name of a King.*[4] *Ther are two sorts of this fruit, one a browne red, seeming as though it were blacke, most part without stones, and more savory then the other which is a pale red or a pale Purple colour, with a lively smell of Roses, and within it hath a little white hard stone not verie rounde, much like a Peach stone, white, and covered with a rough skin. This is not ful so great as the other, yet are they both fit for such as have [daintie and] licorous mouthes. They smel like Sweete Roses: they are colde and moyst, and altogether soft, covered with a thinne Rinde, which cannot*[5] *be taken off with a knife. The Iambos tree taketh deepe roote, & within foure yeares [after it is set,] doth beare fruit, and that many times in one*

[1] The name of the tree and fruit, "jambu, jambû", is Sanskrit; one of the ancient names of India, *e.g.*, in the oldest writings of the Buddhists and in inscriptions from the third century B.C., was Jambudvîpa.—[K.] The statement in text is from Garcia. It is probable that the kind he speaks of had been brought from Malacca to Goa; the *Jambosa Malaccensis* (?), which is, according to Forbes-Watson's List called in Bengal *Malāka Jamrūl*.—[Y.]

[2] Orig. Dutch: "of a reddish purple colour".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "clavierkens" (claviculae).

[4] Orig. Dutch: "having received this name of the king".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "may not".

yeare, and is never without fruite or blossomes, for that commonly everie branch hath both ripe and unripe fruit, and blossomes all at once, contrarie to the nature of all other trees: and everie day as the blossomes fall (whereby the earth under it seemeth to bee painted red)[1] *there growe new on, and when some of the fruite begin to grow, then others are almost ripened, and others being ripe are greater.*[2] *The tree being lightly shaken, the ripe fruit falleth easily off, [by reaching the nether bowes].*[3] *This fruite is [ordinarily] eaten, before other meate [be set upon the Table,]*[4] *and also at all times of the day. The Malabares and Canarijns, call this fruite Iamboli, the Portingales inhabiting there, Iambos, the Arabians, Tupha Indi,*[5] *the Persians Tuphat:*[6] *the Turkes Alma,*[7] *the trees are called by the Portingales Iambeiro. The blossomes and the fruite are conserved with Suger, and are used for hotte Agues to cõle mans thirst.*[8]

The trees whereon the Iambos do grow are as great as Plumtrées, and verie like unto them: it is an excellent and a [verie] pleasant fruite to looke on, as bigge as an apple: it hath a red colour and somewhat whitish, so cleare and pure that it seemeth to be painted or made of ware:[9] it is very pleasant to eate, and smelleth like Rose water, it is white within, and in eating moyst and waterish, it is a most daintie fruite, as well for bewtie to the sight, as for the sweet savour and taste; it is a fruite that is never forbidden to any sicke person, as other fruites are, but are freelie given unto sicke men to eate, that have a desire thereunto, for it can doe no

[1] This may be seen in Java, but hardly in India; even on the West Coast the trees do not flower so well as in Java, etc.—[B.]

[2] Orig. Dutch: "are taken off".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "and the branches being drawn down to pluck the fruits, they tear off easily"

[4] Orig. Dutch: "aen die tafelen gaende" (in dining).

[5] *I.e*, toffâh Hindi, Indian apple.

[6] Read Tuphah (the Arab toffâh).

[7] *I.e.*, apple.

[8] Note by D. Paludanus (orig. Dutch).

[9] Read "waxe".

hurt. The blossomes are likewise very faire to the sight, and have a sweet smell: they are red and [somewhat] whitish [of colour.] This tree beareth fruite three or foure tymes every yeare, and which is [more] wonderfull, it hath commonly on the one side or halfe of the tree ripe Iambos, and the leaves fallen ôff, and on the other side or half it hath all the leaves, and beginneth [againe] to blossome, and when that side hath fruite, and that the leaves fall off, then the other side beginneth again to have leaves, and to blossome, and so it continueth all the yeare long: within they have a stone as great (and very neere of the same fashion) as the fruite of the Cipres tree.

The 54. Chapter.

Of other fruites in India.

There is a fruite called Iangomas, which groweth on trees like Cherrie trees: they are in bignes like smal round plummes of a darke red colour, they have no stones in them, but some small kernels: they are of taste much like plummes, whereof there are very many, but not much esteemed of.

The fruit Iangomas groweth on a tree not unlike in greatnesse and fashion to our Plum trees, as also in leaves and white blossoms, save onely that these trees are ful of [*Prickles or*] *thornes, they grow*[1] *of them selves* [*in everie place,*] *& also in gardens at Bachaim, Chaul and Balequala,*[2] *the fruits are like Sorben smal and round, they are harsh in the throat like slowes or unripe Plums, and have no stone within them, but some small kernels, when they come first out,* [*they are*] *like*

[1] Orig. Dutch: "They grow much wild".

[2] *Bachaim*=Bassein, N. of Bombay; *Chaul*, a once famous port in Konkan; *Balequala*, error for *Baleguata*, the Bālāghāt or country above the Ghāts.

Pistaccios. The fruit being ripe, must first bee brused and crushed[1] *with mens fingers, before it can bee eaten, yet it looseth thereby none of his vertue of binding, and therefore they are thought good to stop the Flux withall, although they are but little esteemed by the Indians. They say, that this fruite is eaten by certaine foules, and being voyded out againe & set in the ground together with the same birdes dung, it will grow the sooner and be the fruitfuller.*[2]

There is an other fruite called Carambolas, which hath 8 corners, as bigge as a smal aple, sower in eating, like unripe plums, and most used to make conserves.[3]

The fruite which the Malabares and Portingales call Carambolas, is in Decan called Camarix,[4] *in Canar, Camarix,*[5] *and Carabeli: in Malaio, Bolumba,*[6] *and the Persians Chamaroch. It groweth on trees that are like Quince-trees, having leaves greater and longer than our apple-trees, verie greene and bitter of taste, with small blossomes, of five leaves a peece, reddish without any white,*[7] *and of no speciall smel, but faire to the eye, and of taste like Sorrell. The fruit is like a great Hondts bey,*[8] *long and yellow, and as if it were parted into foure parts, the Coddes*[9] *are somewhat deepe, & presse the fruite together,*[10] *in the middle they have some small kernels, which for the sharp tast are pleasant to eate. This fruit is conserved in Suger, & much eaten in medicines, and with meate. The ripe are used for hotte Feavers, in steede of Sirop of Vineger, which wee use*

[1] Orig. Dutch: "pressed and softened".

[2] Note by D. Paludanus.

[3] This is produced by the Averrhoa Carambola (L.) and the Averrhoa Bilimbi (L.).—[B.]

[4] *I.e.*, D. Hind. Khamraq; Hind. Kamrak and Kamranga.

[5] *I.e.*, Canarese, Kamarak.—[B.]

[6] *I.e.*, Malay, Bălimbing.—[K.]

[7] Orig. Dutch: "of a whitish red".

[8] This is Dutch, and signifies "Houndsberry". It is the "Vaccinium vitis idaea, L." (bilberry ?)

[9] Orig. Dutch: "groefkens" (little grooves).

[10] Orig. Dutch: "die vruchten vercierende" (adorning the fruit).

in these countries. The Canarijns use the Iuyce with other medicines, there growing, [which are] mixed [with it], to make colours thereof, [wherewith they][1] *take spots and blemishes out of mens eyes. Costa*[2] *writeth that he knew a midwife in India which used this fruite dryed and beaten to poulder, with Bettele, leaves, to make women to avoide their dead fruite out of their wombes,*[3] *this fruite is also kept in pickle, because it is pleasing to the taste, and procureth an appetite.*[4]

There are yet other fruites, as Brindoijns, Durijndois, Iamboloens, Mangestains, and other such like fruites, but because they are of small account, I thinke it not requisite to write severallie of them, but onelie of two of them.

There is also in East India a fruit called Brindoijns,[5] *which outwardly is a little red, and inwardly bloud red, verye sowre of taste. There are some also, that are outwardly blackish, which proceedeth of their ripenesse, and not so sower as the first, but yet as red within. Many Indians like well of this fruit, but because of the sowrenesse, it is not so well accepted of. The dyers doe use this fruite.*

The Barkes of these trées are kept and brought over sea [hither, and are good] to make Vineger [withall], as some Portingales have done.[6]

Of the fruit called Iambolijns.

The trees that beare this fruit, have a barke like Lentiscus [or the Mastick tree] to the shew [much] like a Mirtle, but in leaves like the Arbutus [of Italy]. It groweth of it self in the wilde fields, the fruit is like great ripe Olives of Cordova, and harsh in a mans throate. This fruite is little used by Phÿsitions, but is much kept in pickle, and eaten with sodden Ryce, for they

[1] Orig. Dutch: "to take with it (the juice) spots", etc.

[2] *I.e.*, Christoval Acosta.

[3] Orig. Dutch: "to procure expulsion of the after-birth, and the dead fruit".

[4] Note by D. Paludanus.

[5] *Garcinia purpurea*, Roxb., is called *brindaõ* by the Portuguese.

[6] Note by D. Paludanus.

procure an appetite to meate, but this fruit (as also Iaka) is by the Indians not accounted among wholesome fruits.

There is also a fruite that came out of the Spanish Indies, brought from [beyond] ye Philippinas or Lusons to Malacca, & from thence to India, it is called Papaios,[1] and is very like a Mellon, as bigge as a mans fist, and will not grow, but alwaies two together, that is male and female: the male tree never yeeldeth any fruite, but onely the female, and when they are devided, [& set apart] one from the other, then they yéeld no fruite at all. It is a tree of the hight of a man, with great leaves. This fruite at the first for the strangenes thereof was much esteemed, but now they account not of it. There are likewise in India some fig trees of Portingal, although thè fruite doth never come to good perfection. Oranges, Lemons, Citrons,[2] and such like fruite, are throughout all India in great abundance, and for goodnes and taste surpasse those of Spain. Grapes are not ther to be found, but onelie upon some houses, as we have them in netherland: yet against Christmas and Lent, there are raysins brought into Goa, by the Decanaes and Indians[3] out of the firme land, and from Ballagate, but they are not so good as those in Spaine, and verie fewe they are, but for price as good cheape as other fruites.[4] There are also in India manie Melons, but not so good as [those] in Spaine, for that they must be eaten with Suger, if you wil have any sweetnes in them: but ther is an other sort like Melons, called Patecas[5] or Angurias,[6]

[1] Papaya is the Malay name (*Carica Papaya*, L.). (But apparently carried with the fruit from Cuba. See *Littré*, s.v.)

[2] Orig. Dutch: "Oraengie-appelen, Limoenen, Lymen, Cidroenen, en Cydren". Lymen, from the Sp. *lima* (small lemon ?); cydren, from the Sp. *cidra*, the bergamot-citron (*Citrus bergamia* Risso).

[3] Orig. Dutch: "other Indians".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "they are also few and dear, in relation to the cheapness of all other fruits".

[5] Pateca, from the Ar. bittīkh (vulg. battīkh), melon.

[6] "Citrullus officinarum, Anguria sive Batecha Avicennae" (Lobel).

Melons[1] of India, which are outwardlie of a darke greene colour, inwardlie white with blacke kernels: they are verie waterish and[2] hard to byte, and so moyst, that as a man eateth them his mouth is full of water, but yet verie sweet, and verie cold and fresh meat, wherfore [manie of them] are eate[3] after dinner to coole [men]. Cucumbers and Radishes are there in great numbers, also Colewortes, but not so good as in Europa, for the Colewortes never grow to their full growth, but are loose with their leaves open. They have likewise some sallet hearbs, but [verie] little: hearbs whereof men make Porridge[4] are not there to be had, nor manie sweet smelling hearbs nor[5] flowers, as Roses, lilies, rosemary, or such like sorts of flowers & plants there are none, yet they have some fewe Roses, and [a little] Rosemarie, but of no great smell. The fields never have any other flowers in them, but onelie grasse, and that is in Winter when it rayneth, for in Summer it is cleane burnt off with the [exceeding] heat of the Sunne. There is onelie a kinde of blossomes of trees, which grow all the yeare long, called Fulle,[6] that smell verie sweet: the women doe ordinarily throw them among their Lynnen and apparell to make them sweet. They likewise make [Collers or] strings [ful] of them, which they weare about their necks, and strew them in their beds, for they are verie desirous of sweete savors; for other sorts of sweet flowers & hearbs, whereof thousands are found in Europe, they are not in India to be had: so that when you tell them of ye sweet flowers and herbes of these countries, they wonder much thereat, and are verie desirous of them.

By these pictures you may see the forme and fashions of the fruites called Iaacka, Ananas, Mangas, Caius, & Iambos, which are the fyve principallest & most esteemed

[1] Read: or Melons.
[2] Orig. Dutch: "but".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "much eaten".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "groen warmoes". This is not porridge, but greens or pot-herbs.
[5] Orig. Dutch: "and".
[6] Phūl="flower"; here probably champaka.

fruites in all India, for others are but of small account: of Ginger also as it groweth, whereof in an other place I will say more, when I make mention of the spices and drie wares of India: all which are set down according to the life, although the leaves are not altogether so proportionable with their strings and veynes, as they should be, or as the Physitions and Doctors in their Herbals have described them, having onely shewed the forme and growth of the fruites, as I have seene and used them.

THE 55. CHAPTER.

Of the Indian Figges.

Indian Figges there are manie & of divers sorts, one better then the other, some small, some great, some thicke, some thin, &c., but in generall they are all of one forme and colour, little more or lesse, but the trees are all one, and of the height of a man: the leaves are of a fadome long and about 3 spannes broad, which the Turkes use in steed of browne paper, to put pepper in.[1] In the trée there is no wood, but it may rather be called a reed then a trée. The bodie of the tree (I meane that which covereth the outward part when it beginneth somewhat to grow) is in a manner verie like the inner part of a syve made of hayre, but in shew somewhat thicker, and is (as it were) the barke of it: but when you open it, it is ful of leaves, closed and rouled up together,[2] of the hight of half a mans length, and somewhat higher. The leaves do open and spread abroad [on the top of the tree,][3]

[1] This is a mistake of the translator. The orig. Dutch has: "om peper-huyskens af te maken"; *i.e.*, "to make little paper-bags of it" (the French "cornets"). Originally they were mostly used for spices, thence the name "peperhuys" (pepper-house).

[2] Here ends the sentence. Then follows: "On the height ..... the leaves open, etc."

[3] Orig. Dutch: "in upright direction".

and when those that are within the bodie doe in their time thrust themselves forth [upwardes out of the innermost part of the tree][1] then doe the outmost leaves begin to drie, and fall off, untill the tree be come to his full growth, and the fruite to their perfect ripenesse. The bodie of the tree may be a span thicke at the most. The leaves have in ye middle [of them] a very thick & gray vein which [runneth clean through them, and] devideth them[2] out of the middest of the leaves, which are in the innermost part of the tree at their springing up, there cometh forth a flower, as big as an Estrige egge, of colour russet, which in time groweth to be long, with a long stalke, and it is no wood, but rather like a Coleworte stalk: This stalke groweth full of figges, close one by the other, which at the first are in fashion like greene beanes, when they are yet in the huskes, but after growe to half a span in length, and 3 or 4 inches broad, as thicke as Cucumbers, which stalke beareth [at the least,] some two hundreth figges, little more or lesse, and grow as close together as grapes: the[3] clusters are so great as two men can scarcely beare upon a staffe, they are cut off when they are but half ripe, that is to say, when they are as yet half greene, and half yealow, and hanged up[4] in their houses upon beames, and so within 4 or 5 dayes they will be fullie ripe and al yealow. The tree or plant yeeldeth but one bunch at a time, which being ripe they cut the whole tree down to the ground, leaving only the roote, out of the which presently groweth an other, and within a Moneth after beareth fruite, and so continueth all the yeare long, and never leaveth bearing: they are in all places in so great abundance, and so common throughout all India, that it is wonderfull, being the greatest meat and sustenance of the

[1] Orig. Dutch: "always from the middle outward".
[2] Here ends the sentence. Then follows: "Out of the middest", etc.
[3] Orig. Dutch: "some".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "with bunch and all".

countrie: they are of a marvellous good taste: when they eate them, they pul off the shelles, for that they have shelles somewhat like the coddes of beanes, but thynner and softer, within whitish, and soft in byting, as if it were meale and butter mixed together, and sweetish, so that in breef, they are very good and pleasant of taste: they may serve both for bread & butter, and a man may verie wel live thereon, without other meate, if need were, as manie in India doe live therewith, [& have but little other things to eate].[1] The most and commonest sort are by the Portingals called Figos dorta, that is, garden figges, those are somewhat thicke; there are others which are smaller, and thyn[2] without, and are called Senoriins, which are of the best sort: they smell well, and are very good of taste. There is an other sort called Cadoliins,[3] which are likewise well esteemed, but the best of all are called Chincapoloyns, and are most in the countrie of Malabar: these are but a little yealow,[4] but they continue commonlie on the outside greene, and are small and long, with a speciall sweet smell, as if they were full of rose water. There are yet manie other sorts, some that are verie great, about a span long, and in thicknes correspondent: these grow much in Cananor [and] in[5] the coast of Malabar, and are by the Portingales called figges of Cananor: and by reason of the great quantitie thereof are dried, their shelles being taken off, and so being drie are caryed over all India to be sold. These when they are ripe are most roasted, for they are but seldome eaten raw, as other figges are,[6] they are some what harsh in swallowing, and inwardly red of colour, and being roasted they are shalled or pilled like the others, and so cut in slices, which done, they cast some

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and is the common breakfast".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "indifferent".
[3] *Kadlī*, *Kadalī* (Skt.), Hind. and Mahr., "a plantain"
[4] Orig. Dutch: "few of these become yellow".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "on".
[6] Orig. Dutch: "as the others".

beaten Sinamon upon them, steeping them in wine, & then they taste better then roasted Quinces, they are cut up in the middle, as all the other [kynde of figges use to be,] and then boyled or fryed in Suger, which is a very daintie meat, and very common in India: to conclude, it is one of the best and necessaryest fruites in all India, and one of the principallest sustenances of the common people, they are found in all places of the Indies & Oriental countries, as also in Mosambique, Ormus, on the coast of Abex, Malabar, Malacca, Bengala, &c. The Gusurates, Decanijns, Canarijns, and Bengalers call them Quelli,[1] the Malabares, Palan,[2] and the Malayens of Malacca, Pysan.[3] They are also found in Arabia and are called Musa, as also in Jerusalem, Damasco, and Cayro, as I have beene truly informed by credible persons, which dayly [travell and][4] traffique into India. And they[5] do believe that this is the same fruite, which Adam did eate when hee sinned first, but I should rather thinke this Figge tree to be of the same, whereof we reade in the old Testament in the bookes of Moses, which the spies that were sent out by the children of Israel, brought out of the land of promise, hanging upon a staffe, & born by two men, & are taken for grapes, which I many times thought of, when I saw them brought in that manner for a present to my Lords house, for it is altogether in forme and fashion like a bunch of grapes, yet I meane not to be iudge therein, but leave it unto others of greater experience [and travell] then my selfe.

Indian Figges are by the Arabians called Moris and not Musa,[6] *nor Amusa, and the tree Daracht-Moris, by the Brasi-*

[1] *I.e.*, "Keli"; in Bengal more commonly "Kadalī" (like in Sanskrit). —[K.] *Kelā* is commonest in Upper India.—[Y.]

[2] *I.e.*, Malayālam, "palam", ripe plantain.—[K.]

[3] Pisang, "Musa paradisiaca".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "from those countries".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "some".

[6] D. Paludanus errs here.—[B.]

lians Pacona, and the tree Paquouer, by Brocardus in his description of the holy land, Paradise Apples, by Quiedus in the "Historie of India", in his eight Booke and first Chapter Platanus, in Guinea Bananas, in Malauar Patan,[1] *in Malayen Pican,*[2] *in Canara, Decan, Gusurate, and Bengala, Quelli. Auicenna, Serapio, and Rhasis have likewise written certaine Chapters hereof. Auicenna in his second Booke and* 491. *Chapter, writing of the properties and qualities of this fruite, sayeth, that it yeeldeth but small sustenance, that it ingendereth Choller and Flegme, and that it spoyleth the stomake, wherefore he counselleth such as are of a hotte constitution, after they have eaten these Figges, to take some Honie and Vineger, sodden together with cold seeds. They are good against heate in the stomake, Lungs, and Kydnies, and provoke Urine. Rhasis, of the same in his thirde Booke of Physicke, and twentie Chapter, sayth also, that they are hurtfull for the maw, which I also found being in Syrie, when I used them, they make men to have an evill appetite to their meate, & a desire to ease their bodies, and doe qualifie the rawnesse of the throate. Serapio in his Booke of Physicke in the* 84. *Chapter sayth, that this fruit is in the ende of the first degree warming, and moystning, and that they are good against the heate of the stomake and Lungs, but for him which eateth many*[3] *of them, they breed a heavinesse in his Mawe, but [by meanes of their hastie ripening]*[4] *they are good for the Kidnies, provoke Urine, and make men apt for leacherie. The Indian Phisitians doe use this fruit in medicines for Feavers and other diseases. The opinion, (as I thinke) why this fruite is called Paradise Apples, is partly for the pleasantnes of taste, smell and colour, for the taste is betweene sweete & sower, the smell somwhat like Roses, and the colour a faire yelow and green, & partly also because this fruit being cut*

[1] Read "Palau" (Palam).—[K.]
[2] Read "Piçan" (Pisang).
[3] Orig. Dutch: "too much".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "they cause the growing of the fruit in women".

in the middle have certaine veines like a crosse, whereon the Christians in Siria doe make many speculations [*and discourses, which many strangers that have travelled in those countries doe verifie.*][1] *He which desireth to reade*[2] *more heereof, let him reade the worthie and learned Commentaries of Carolus Clusius upon Garsia ab horto, wher he shall receive good contentment* [*and satisfaction*].[3]

There grow in India many Iniamos and Batatas. These Iniamos,[4] are as bigge as a yelow roote,[5] but somewhat thicker and fuller of knots, and as thicke on the one place, as in the other, they grow under the earth like earth Nuts, and of a Dun[5] colour, and white within like earth Nuts, but not so swéete.

Iniamos were this yeare brought hether out of Guinea, as bigge as a mans legge, and all of a like thicknesse, the outward part is Dun[6] *coloured, within verie white, rosted or sodden they are verie pleasant of taste, and* [*one of*] *the principal meat*[*es*] *of the Black* [*Moores*].[7]

The Batatas are somewhat red[8] of colour, and of fashion almost like the Iniamos, but sweeter, of taste like an earth Nut. These two fruits are verie plentifull, specially Iniamos, which is as common and necessarie a meate as the Figges, they eate them for the most part rosted, and use them commonly for the last service on the boorde, they sieth them likewise in an other sort for porrage, and sieth them with flesh like Colwortes or Turnops, the like doe they with Batatas.

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and which they show to us strangers".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "to know".
[3] Note by Dr. Paludanus.
[4] *I.e.*, Yams.
[5] Orig. Dutch: "Gele wortel", *i.e.*, a carrot.
[6] Orig. Dutch: "mouse-grey".
[7] Note by D. Paludanus.
[8] Orig. Dutch: "somewhat more reddish".

THE 56. CHAPTER.

Of the Palme trees, whereon the Indian Nuts called Cocus doe grow.

These Trees are commonlie called by most of the Indians, Persians, and Arabians, Maro, & the nuts Narel.[1] The Malabares call the Trees Tenga Maran,[2] and the fruite being ripe, Tenga,[3] but unripe, and [being] as yet greene, Eleui,[4] in Goa Lanha. The Portingalls call this fruit Coquo, by reason of the three holes that are therein,[5] like to a Munkie's head.[6] Auicenna calleth these Iausial-Indi, that is, Indian nuts. The Malayans of Malacca call the trees Trican,[7] and the fruit Nihor.[8] This is the most profitable tree of all India, as in order I will declare [unto you] the profit that ariseth thereby, they grow most in the Islands of Maldiua, and in Goa, and the countries round about them, as also through the whole coast of Malabar, whereby they traffique with them into all places,[9] as to Cambaia, Ormus, etc. The tree waxeth very high and straight, of the thickenes of a small spanne little more or lesse, it hath no branches but in the uppermost part thereof, & in the top grow the leaves which spread like unto Date trees, and under the leaves close to the tree grow the Coquos together, commonly ten or twelve one close by another, but [you shall] seldome [finde one of

[1] Mahrattī, "narel"; Hindustānī, "nārel' (from Sanskrit, "nārikela, nālikera").— [K.] These names are, as usual, chiefly taken from Garcia De Orta.

[2] Tamil, "tengamaram".—[K.]

[3] Malayālam, "tēnna".—[K.]

[4] An unripe cocoanut is called "ilan nīr" in Malayālam.—[K.]

[5] This is from Acosta. The name "coco" was first used by the Spaniards, who found the tree in America.

[6] Orig. Dutch: "meer-katten kop" (head of cercopithecus).

[7] Read "Triçan". The word is wanting in the dictionaries, but the cognate Javanese shows the corresponding form "tirisan".—[K.]

[8] *I.e.*, Malay, "niur".—[K.]

[9] Orig. Dutch: "into other countries".

them growing] alone [by it self]. The blossome of this fruite is very[1] like the blossome of a Chestnut. The wood of the tree is very [sappy] like a spunge, and is not firme, they doe not grow but on the sea sides, or bankes of rivers close by the strand, and in sandie grounds, for there groweth none within the land. They have no great rootes, so that a man would thinke it were impossible for them to have any fast hold within the earth, and yet they stand so fast and grow so high, that it maketh men feare to see men clime uppon them, [least they should fall downe]. The Canarijns clime as nimbly, and as fast upon them, as if they were Apes, [for] they make small steppes[2] in the trees like staires, whereon they step, and so clime up,[3] which the Portingales dare not venter; their planting is in this manner. They first plant the Coquos or Nuts whereof the trees doe spring, and when they are about the height of a man, [in winter time they plant them againe, and][4] dung them with ashes, and in summer time water them. They growe well about houses, because commonlie [there] they have good earth,[5] and beeing well looked unto and husbanded, they yeeld fruit in fewe yeares, which is the Canarijns livinges that dwell here and there among those trees, and have no other occupation but onely to dresse those trees, which they farme of the Landlords, and by the fruite[6] thereof doe get their livinges. Those trees are more aboundant with them then Olive trees in Spaine,[7] or willow trees in the Low countries. The profits[8] they reape thereby are these. First the wood is very good for many things, although it be spungious [and sappy] by reason of

[1] Orig. Dutch: "almost".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "notches".
[3] Orig. Dutch (add): "very easily".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "they transplant them, and in winter".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "they thrive in the mud".
[6] Orig. Dutch: "profits".
[7] Orig. Dutch: "Portugal and Spain".
[8] Orig. Dutch: "..... and merchandises".

the length of it, for in the Islandes of Maldiva they make whole ships thereof, without any iron nayles in them, for they sow them together with the cordes that are made of the said Cocus [or Nut,] the ropes and cables beeing likewise of the same tree, as also the sayles which they make of the leaves, which leaves are called Olas. They serve likewise to make[1] the Canarijns houses, and for hattes which they use to carrie over their heades, for the sunne or the raine, they make also mattes or Tents[2] that lie over the Palamkins when it raineth, to cover the women when they are caried abroad, and such like thinges; they likewise make thereof very fine Hattes, that are much esteemed, and cost three or foure Pardawes the peece, which they weare in Summer for lightnes. They farme [or hire] those trees for two causes, one for the Coquos or fruit to eate it, the other to presse wine out of them, [thereof to drinke]. The nuts[3] are as great as an estrige egge, some smaller, and some greater, and are outwardly covered with a Huske or Shell, which as long as it groweth on the tree, is greene without, like an Acorne with his huske [or cup].

The Indian nuts are covered over with two sortes of huskes [or shels], whereof the uttermost is hayrie, and of it they make Cairo, that is, all their cables and ropes, and stop [and make] their ships [close] with it in stead of Ocam or tow, for that it keepeth the ships closer in saltwater then our Ocam or Tow, because in salt water it closeth and shutteth it selfe closer together. Of the other they make not onelie drinking cups, in India, but herewith us also, for that the common people beleeve there is a certaine vertue in them against stirring of the body,[4] *but it is not so.*[5]

[1] Orig. Dutch: "to cover".
[2] Orig. Dutch (add): "of them".
[3] Orig. Dutch (add): "within".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "beroeringe" (agitation).
[5] Note by Dr. Paludanus.

This Huske beeing drie and pulled off, is haire like hempe, whereof all the cordes and cables that are used throughout al India are made, as well upon the land as in the ships, it is of colour verie like the ropes of Sparta[1] in Spain, they are very good but they must be kept in salt water, whereby they continue very long, but in fresh or raine water they doe presently[2] rot, because they are not drest with pitch, and tarre [as our ships are]. The ship wherein I came out of India into Portingall, had no other ropes nor cables, [nor any such kinde of stuffe,] but such as were made of the Indian Cocus, called Cayro, which continued very good, saving only that we were forced every fourteene dayes to wash our cables in the Sea, whereby they served us as well as cables of hemp. The fruit when it is almost ripe is called Lanha, and within is full of water, and then it is white of colour, thin and soft,[3] and the longer the Cocus is on the tree, the more the water groweth and changeth into white, which is the meat of the nut within, and tasteth much like a hasel nut, but [somewhat] sweeter. The Lanhos have [within them] a good draught of water, which is very cleare, sweet, and coole to drink. It is at the least halfe a can full, & when men walke abroad and are thirstie, they go unto the Canarijns, who presently with a great knife in their handes[4] come up the tree, and cut off as many Lanhos as a man desireth, selling them for a Basaruco or two a peece, which they make very ready and cleare[5] to be drunke, the first shell that is over the inward fruit which as the nut is come to his full ripenes, becometh [almost to bee] wood, is then but thin and soft, and very pleasant to eate with salt, and do taste almost like Artichokes; a man may drinke as much of this water as

[1] Read: "esparto".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "quickly".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "and then the white (substance) within is yet thin and soft".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "on their back".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "which they prepare very neatly".

hee will for it will not hurt him, but is a verie pleasant drinke; when the fruit is ripe, there is not so much water in it, and is white within,[1] [and somewhat] thicker [of substance], and then the water is not so good as it was before beeing Lanhos, for then it becommeth[2] somewhat sower. These Cocus being yet in their husks, may be carried over the whole world, [and not once hurt or brused][3] and it happeneth oftentimes that by continuance of time, the water within the Cocus doth convert, and congeale into a [certaine kinde of] yellow apple, which is verie savorie and sweet. The huske beeing taken off, the shel serveth for many uses, as to make ladles with woodden handles, and also certaine little pots, which beeing fastened to a sticke, they doe therewith take [and lade] water out of their great pots, they make thereof also small vessels to beare wine in when they walke into the fieldes, and a thousand other thinges. These shelles are likewise burnt, & serve for coales for Goldsmiths, which are very good and excellent. Of the white of these nuts in India they make porrage, and dresse meate withall, straynning and pressing out the milke, wherin with [many] other mixtures they seeth their rice, & to bee short, they never dresse any rice, which they cal Carrijl, & is the sauce to their meate thereunto,[4] but they put some of their Cocus milk into it; els the Cocus is but little eaten, for there it is not esteemed of, but serveth for meate for the slaves, and poore people. They likewise breake the Cocus [in peeces], and taking off the shell they drie the fruit or white meat that is within it, and it is carried in great quantities out of Malabar to Cambaia and Ormus & to the Northern coastes and quarters beyond Goa, as also to the countrie of Balla-

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and the white within or the fruit becomes greater and.....". [2] Orig. Dutch: "it is".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "without becoming rotten".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "(with that, which they call Carrijl, and is the sauce or by-meat) but," etc.

gate, & traffique much therewith. Of this white substance they make Oyle, which they stampe in cesterns like Olives, and it maketh verie good oyle, as well to eat as to burne, which is likewise very medicinable.

There are two sortes of Oyle made of these nuts, one out of the fresh or greene nuts, stamped and mixed with warme water, which beeing pressed foorth, the oyle swimmeth above [the water]: this oyle is used to purge the maw and the guts, for it purgeth very gently, & without hurt; Some mixe therewith the iuyce of Thamarindes, & maketh thereof a verie wholesome medecine; the other Oyle is prest out of the dried Cocus,[1] *which is called Copra, & is good also to purge the maw and against the shrinking of the sinews, as also for old aches [and paines] in the [ioyntes and] lims.*[2]

This dried Cocus which is so caried abroad is called Copra. When they desire to have no Cocus or fruite thereof, they cut the blossomes of the Cocus away, and bind a round Potte with a narrow mouth, by them called Callao,[3] fast unto the tree, and stop the same close round about with pot earth, so that neyther wind nor aire can eyther enter in, or come forth, & in that sort the pot in short space is full of water, which they call Sura,[4] & is very pleasant to drinke like sweet whay, & somewhat better.

This water being drunke, is very good against the heate of the liver and the kidnies, and cleanseth the yard from corruption and filthie matter.[5]

The same water standing but one houre in the sunne, is very good viniger, and in India they have none other.[6] This

[1] Orig. Dutch: "pitten", *i.e.*, kernels. [2] Note by Dr. Paludanus.

[3] This seems to be an error; Malayālam, "kallu" is palm-wine; the vessel to take down palm-wine is called "kappāḷa".—[K.]

[4] The original word is Sanskrit, "surā", spirituous liquor, from whence Malayālam, "sura", spirituous liquor, wine; Tamil, "surā, surei", toddy.—[K.] [5] Note by Dr. Paludanus.

[6] Orig. Dutch (add): "..... Such vinegar is to be found at (the house of) Paludanus".

Sura beeing distilled, is called Fula,[1] or Nipe,[2] & is as excellent aqua vitæ, as any is made in Dort[3] of [their best] rennish wine, [but] this is of the finest kinde of distillation.[4] The second distillation thereof is called Uraca, which is verie good wine, & is the wine of India, for they have no other [wine]. It is very hot & strong, yet ye Indians drinke it as if it were water,[5] [&] the Portingales use it in this sort. They put it into vessels, and to a pipe of Uraca they put 3. or 4. Hands of reasons[6] that are brought for marchandise into India from Ormus, everie hand is 12. poundes, which beeing washed they put into the vessel, leaving the bung open & the pipe not being full, for if it were it wold burst by reason of the heat, because [therewith] it seetheth [in the Pipe] like water on the fire, [and boyling so,] it is stirred every day for the space of fourteene or fifteene dayes, in which time the Uraca getteth as faire a redde colour as [if it were] Portingall wine, and differeth not much in taste, but yet sweeter, and hotter of it selfe, howbeit it is altogether as fayre, and of as good a colour[7] as their Portingall Wyne, so that they can hardly bee discerned one from the other: this Wine is called Wine of Passa,[8] or Reasons. With this Wine there is great traffique used to Bengala, Malacca, China and other places, and every Pipe thereof costeth within Goa 30. Pardawen the peece, little more or lesse. Of the aforesaide Sura they likewise make Sugar, which is called Iagra: they séeth the water, and set it in the Sun, whereof it becommeth[9]

[1] *I.e.*, flower (Sanskr.).

[2] Nipa (Malay) is another palm-tree, that gives an excellent wine (*Nipa fruticans*, L.).

[3] Dort, or Dordrecht, a town in Holland.

[4] Orig. Dutch: "ghedistileert" (distilled liquor).

[5] Orig. Dutch (add): "..... it is of white colour".

[6] Orig. Dutch: "blaeuwe razynen" (blue raisins). "Hand" is here =*maund*, as Anglo-Indians now write. See vol. i, p. 245, note 3.

[7] Orig. Dutch: "colour and taste".

[8] *I.e.*, "uva passa".—[B.]

[9] Orig. Dutch: "whereof comes the".

Sugar, but it is little esteemed, because it is of a browne colour, and for that they have so great [quantitie and] abundance of white Sugar throughout all India. The innermost [parte] of the tree or trunke is called Palmito, and is the pith or hart of the [same] trunke, which is much esteemed, and sent for a present unto men of great account. It is as thinne as Paper, and also white, and is as if it were plaited or prest together, as they use to plait & presse womens huykes[1] [in the Low countries: it is also] long and slender, and hath sometimes 50. or 60 foldes or plaites in it like a paper booke. This the Indians use for paper, and bookes, which continueth in the same foldes, whereon they write when it is gréene, and so let it drie, and then it is impossible to get the letters out againe, for it is printed therein with a [kind of] Iron instrument: The Indians cal it Olla, whereof all their bookes, wrytinges, and Evidences are made, which they can seale, and shutte up as we doe our letters. Of this Paper with the Indian writing upon it, you may see some at D. Paludanus house, which I gave him for a present. These trees are for the most part in the Islands of Maldiua, where there are Cocus Nuttes, that are excellent good against poyson.[2]

Garsius and Costa esteeme this for a fable. Costa writeth that he hath searched into it many times but found it contrarie, as I likewise have done, and can finde no such great effect.[3]

Those Islandes have no other dealing or living, but with Cayro, whereof they make ropes [and Cables,] and with the Copra, or the white substance of the Cocus, whereof Oyle is made, for that they doe oftentimes come into India, when the ship & all the furniture, victuaile and marchandise is onely of those Palme trees, whereby it is wel to be considered, that it is one of the greatest & principalest traffiques and victuails in all India. This shall suffice for the description of the particular commodities of this tree, the lively picture

[1] The "huyck", a cloak with cap, was then the common dress of Dutch women out of doors.

[2] See note 4, on p. 75 of vol. i.

[3] Note by Dr. Paludanus.

whereof is here to be seene, together with the Cocus or Nuttes, and the pottes hanging at the same, to draw ye water out of them, as also the [growing and] sprowting of the Fig trees, as well with fruit as with blossoms, all lively[1] set downe.

THE 57. CHAPTER.

Of the Duryoens, a fruit of Malacca.

Duryoen is a fruit that only groweth in Malacca,[2] and is so much commended by those which have proved ye same, that there is no fruite in the world to bee compared with it: for they affirme, that in taste and goodnes it excelleth all kind of fruits, and yet when it is first opened, it smelleth like rotten onions, but in the taste the sweetnes and daintinesse thereof is tryed. It is as great as a Mellon, outwardly like the Iaacka, whereof I have spoken, but somewhat sharper or pricking, and much like the huskes of Chestnuttes. It hath within it certaine partitions like the Iaacka, wherein the fruit groweth, being of the greatnesse of a little Hennes egge, and therein are the Nuttes as great as Peache stones. The fruite is for colour and taste like an excellent meat, much used in Spaine, called Mangiar Blanco, which is made of Hennes flesh, distilled with Sugar: The trees are like the Iaacka trees, the blossoms white, and some what yellowish: the leaves about halfe a spanne broad, somewhat sharpe at the end, within light greene, and without dark greene.

In Malacca there is a fruit so pleasant both for taste and smell, that it excelleth all other fruites both of India, & Malacca, although there are many [*both excellent*] *and* [*very*] *good. This*

[1] Orig. Dutch: "truly".

[2] It grows also in the Malay archipelago. The name is durian (*Durio zibethinus*), from *duri*, "thorn".

fruit is called in Malayo (which is the Province wherein it groweth) Duriaoen, and the blossomes Buaa, and the tree Batan:[1] *It is a very great tree, of solide and firme wood, with a gray barke, having many braunches, and excessive great store of fruit: the blossome is white [and] somewhat yellow: the leaves halfe a handfull long, & two or three fingers broad, rounde and somewhat hollowe:*[2] *outwardly greene, and somewhat after a red colour.*[3] *It beareth a fruit of the bignes of a Mellon, covered with a harde husk, with many smal and thicke sharpe prickles: outwardly greene, & with strikes downe along the sides like the Mellon. They have within them foure holes or partitions according to the length thereof, in each of the which holes are yet three or foure cases: in each case or shell a fruite as white as milke, and as great as a Hennes egge, but better of taste and savour, like the white meat, which the Spaniardes make of Ryce, Capons flesh, and Rose water, called Mangiar Blanco, yet not so soft nor slymie, for the other that are yellow, and not white within, are [either] spoyled, or rotten, by evill aire [or moysture]:*[4] *they are accounted the best which have but three Nuttes in each hole, next them those that have foure, but those of five are not good, & such as have any cracks or cliftes in them. There are likewise [(very] seldome) more then twenty nuts in one apple, and in every Nutte is a stone like a Peach stone, not rounde, but somewhat long, not over sweet of taste, but making the throat harsh, like unripe Medlers, and for that cause are not eaten.*

This fruit is hot and moist, and such as will eat them, must first treade upon them softly with his foote, and breake the prickes that are about them: Such as never eate of it before, when they smell it at the first, thinke it senteth like a rotten Onyon, but having tasted it, they esteeme it above all other

[1] Blossom is *bunga* in Malay; *batang* means trunk.

[2] Orig. Dutch: "round about with little dents (or notches)".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "outwardly pale greene and inwardly very greene, almost reddish".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "and rain".

fruites, both for taste and savour. This fruite is also in such account with the learned Doctors,[1] *that they think a man can never be satisfied therwith, and therefore they give this fruite an honourable name,*[2] *and write [certaine] Epigrammes thereof, & yet there is great abundance of them in Malacca: & [the apples] cost not above four Mervedies the peece, specially in the Monthes of June, July and August, at other times the price is higher. Here you must note a wonderful contrarietie, that is betweene this fruit Duriaoen, and the hearbe Bettele, which in truth is so great, that if there were a whole shippe, shoppe or house full of Duriaoens, wherein there lay certayne leaves of Bettele, all the Duriaoens wold [presently] rotte and bee spoyled. And likewise by eating over many of those Duriaoens, they heat the Maw, & make it swell, [and] one leafe of Bettele, [to the contrarie], being laide colde uppon the hart, will presently cease the inflamation, rising or swelling of the Maw. And so if after you have eaten Duriaoens, you [chance to] eat a leafe or two of Bettele, you can receyve no hurt by the Duriaoens, although you have eaten never so many. Hereupon, and because they are of so pleasant a taste, the common saying is that men can never be satisfied with them.*

The 58. Chapter.

Of the tree Arbore de Rays, that is, root tree, and the Bambus or reede of India.

There is a tree in India called Arbore de Rays,[3] that is to say, a Tree of rootes: this tree is very wonderfull to beholde, for that when it groweth first up like all other trees, and spreadeth the branches: then ye branches grow ful of roots,

[1] Orig. Dutch has: "Lezers" (readers), which is probably a misprint. The Latin translation has: "Ab indigenis in tantum amatur", etc.

[2] Orig. Dutch: "beautiful names".

[3] Read: "arvore de raíz".

& grow downwards again towards the earth, where they take roote againe, and so are fast againe within the ground, and in length of time the broader the tree is, and that the branches doe spread themselves, the more roots doe hang upon the branches, and seeme afarre off to bee cordes of[1] Hempe, so that in the ende the tree covereth a great peece of ground, and crosseth one roote within the other like a Mase. I have seene trees that have contayned [at the least] some thirtie or fortie paces in compasse, and all out of the rootes which came from above [one of] the braunches, and were fast growne and had taken roote againe] within the earth, and in time waxed so thicke, that it could not be discerned, which was the chief [or principal] trunke [or body of the tree]: in some places you may creepe betweene the rootes, and the more the tree spreadeth,[2] so much the more doe the rootes spring out of the same branches,[3] [and still grow downe til they come to earth, and there take roote againe within the ground,] and still increase with rootes,[4] that it is a wonder. This tree hath no fruit that is worth the eating, but a small kind of fruite like Olives, & good for nothing but for birdes to eate.

Carolus Clusius that hath written very diligently of this tree, nameth it by authoritie out of Plinie, the Indian Fig tree, and saith, it groweth very high, first out of a straight thicke trunke, or body that afterwarde yeeldeth many small and thinne twigges, which being young and tender, are of a golde yellow colour, and growing downewardes towardes[5] *the earth,* [*doe waxe againe like young Rushes, and so make as it were new trees again*],[6] *which in time become as thicke as the first, so that they cannot easily be discerned one from the other, saving onely for*

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and". [2] Orig. Dutch: "grows".

[3] Orig Dutch: "the more the branches spread themselves about and more distant the one of the other".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "and always hang so full of roots".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "and touching".

[6] Orig. Dutch: "are like young ones of a new tree".

the compasse thereof, which in the ende proceedeth to [*the thicknesse of*] *three mens fadomes: out of the which* [*roundnesse or circuit*][1] *on every side there groweth other rootes, and so to an innumerable number, so that this tree doth cover sometimes a little Italian mile, and doth not onely spread from the lowest branches downe againe into the ground, but also from the highest, whereby that one tree seemeth to be a thicke woode. The Indians that they may go through this tree, do cut away some of the branches, and make as it were galleries* [*to walke under, and*] *to keepe them from the heate of the Sunne, because the tree is so full of branches, that the Sun cannot shine through it, and by reason of the many crookinges and wayes that are under this tree, there are many soundes of a* [*great*] *Eccho hearde* [*under the same*], *so that in many places it will repeate a mans words three or foure times* [*together*]. *He that tolde Clusius of this tree, saide, hee had seene* 800. *or* 1000. *men* (*whereof hee himselfe was one*) *hide themselves under one of those trees, saying further, that there were some of those trees which might well cover* 3000. *men under it: the leaves which the new branches bring forth, are like the leaves of the Quince trees: the outside green, the inside*[2] *whitish and rough, as if they were covered with Wooll: whose*[3] *leaves are much desired by Elephants, who therewith are nourished: the fruit is like the first ioint of a mans thumbe, and have the fashion* [*& forme*] *of little small figges, reddish both within and without, and ful of little greines like common figges: sweet of taste and good to be eaten, but not so pleasant as our common figs: they grow between the leaves & the new branches,*[4] *as our Figges doe: it groweth in Goa, and in some*[5] *places bordering on the same: also Clusius saith out of Curtius, Plinius and Strabo, that those trees were also knowne of the*

[1] Orig. Dutch: "around".

[2] *I.e.*, under side is tomentose.—[B.]

[3] Orig. Dutch: "which".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "they grow also between the leaves on the new branches".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "the".

auncient writers.[1] *Hee that desireth to know more hereof, let him reade Clusius in his Chapter of Indian Figges.*[2]

There are in India other wonderfull and thicke trees, whereof shippes are made: there are trées by Cochiin, that are called Angelina, whereof certaine scutes or Skiffes called Tones are made: there are of those Tones that will lade in them at the least 20 or 30. Pipes of water, and are cut out of one peece of wood, without any peece or seame, or any iointes: whereby men may well coniecture the thicknesse of the tree, and it is so strong and hard a woode, that Iron in tract of time would bee consumed thereby, by reason of the hardnesse of the woode. There are also over all India many Sugar Canes in all places, and in great numbers, but not much esteemed of: & all along the coast of Malabare there are many thicke Reeds, specially on the coast of Choramandel, which Reedes by the Indians are called Mambu, and by the Portingales Bambu[3]: these Mambus have a certain matter within them, which is [(as it were)] the pith of it, such as Quilles have within them, which men take out when they make them pennes to write: the Indians call it Sacar Mambu, which is as much to say, as Sugar of Mambu, and is a very medicinable thing much esteemed, and much sought for by the Arabians, Persians, and Moores, that call it Tabaxiir.[4]

Tabaxijr is a Persian word, & signifieth no other thing but a certaine white or milke moisture, for any sap or moisture cleaving together is called Sacar Mambu,[5] *because the reeds or branches, which bring forth the same are called Mambu: the trees whereon Tabaxijr groweth, are some as great as a Popler,*

[1] A full monograph on the knowledge of the Banian trees that the ancients had was compiled by Dr. Nohden.—[B.]

[2] Annotation by Dr. Paludanus.

[3] In Malay, "bambu", but also "mambu".

[4] *I.e.*, "Tabāshīr", from the Sanskrit "tvak-çīra", as adopted by the Persians, Arabs, etc., from whom the Europeans got it.—[B.]

[5] *I.e.*, bamboo sugar.

and some smaller, commonly having straight upright branches, saving that some of the fayrest of them are bowed for their galleries, Arbours,[1] *and [other] walking places: they have many ioyntes, each of a spanne length, having leaves somewhat longer then the leaves of the Olive tree: betweene every ioynt there is a certain sweete moysture, white and cleaving together like Starch, sometimes much, sometimes little: every tree or branch doth not bring forth such sweet moisture, but such onely as grow in Bisnagar,*[2] *and in some provinces of Malabar.*[3]

And therefore commonly in Persia and Arabia, it is weighed against silver, and is a marchandise much used and esteemed among ye foresaide nations: this groweth within[4] the ioynts of the reed, & is white, and sometimes blackish, and sometimes Ash colour.

It is not therefore reiected or cast away, [because it is blackish]: for this blackishnesse proceedeth either by reason of the superfluitie of the moysture, or that it was too long inclosed within the tree, & not by burning of the tree, as some are of opinion. Rhases writeth hereof in his third book, and 36. *Chap. and Serapio in his booke of phisicke, in the* 342 *Chapter, and Auicenna in his* 2. *booke and* 617. *Chapter, who are of opinion, that Tabaxijr is made of burnt rootes, but his opinion is hereby proved to be false.*[5]

The Indians use it against the payne in their privie members, or such like secrete diseases, as also against hotte or burning feavers, the Colerica passio, and the redde Malison, and laskines,[6] with such like diseases. Those reeds grow most in the coast of Choramandel in Bisnagar, and Malacca

[1] Orig. Dutch: "prieelkens" (little bowers).

[2] *I.e.*, the Vijaya- (or Vidyā-) nagara kingdom, which comprised what is now known as the Ceded Districts, or Bellary, Cuddapah, etc., and most of the Madras Presidency, about 1500.—[B.]

[3] Annotation by Dr. Paludanus.

[4] Orig. Dutch: "this inmost (substance) grows on the joints".

[5] Annotation by Dr. Paludanus.

[6] Orig. Dutch: "roode Melisoen", *i.e.*, dysentery. "Laskines"= diarrhœa, in Old E. laske or lash.

in many places, and in great abundance: they growe very high, and are divided in each ioynt one knot from another, at the least a spanne and a halfe, and [rather] more, and are as thicke as a mans leg above the knee: they do commonly grow upright, and most of them as high as the highest house in the Low-countries: they bow them many times in growing, that they may bring them into a forme or fashion to serve for their Pallamkins, wherein the Portingalles and Indian Lordes are carried, as I saide before: the leaves of those reedes or Bambus growe wide one from another, and have almost the fashion of an Olive leafe.

Of the tree or reede called Bambus, some of the Indians make scutes or little Skiffes, wherein two men may sitte, which they doe not altogether make hollow within, but leave two knots or partitions uncarved.[1] *In those scutes the Indians sit naked, at ech end one, crosse legged, & in each hand an oare, wherewith they* [*rule the boate and*] *drive her swiftly against the streame, specially in the river* [*called*] *Cranganor: and they are of this opinion, that those Scutes are never overturned by the Crocodiles* (*although they come about them*) *as others are, but for these it was never heard of.*[2]

The 59. Chapter.

Of the tree called Arbore Triste.

The Tree called Arbore Triste,[3] that is, the sorrowfull tree,

[1] A misunderstanding of Acosta, 296. The bamboo is not opened or "made hollow" at all, but used as a buoyant cylinder, the knots closing it at the ends.

[2] Annotation by Dr. Paludanus.

[3] *I.e.*, the *Nyctanthes Arbor Tristis*, a common garden shrub in S. India, but not, in any way, deserving of the long accounts that have been given of it by travellers and others. According to De Orta (*Colloquios*, f. 17*b*), it was brought to Goa from Malacca, and he devotes a chapter (vi) to it, and gives a tale (from the Vishṇu purāṇa, see *H. H. Wilson's Works*, v. 97 *seqq.*) to account for the Indian name

[is so called,] because it never beareth blossoms but in the night time, and so [it doeth and continueth] all the yeare long: it is a thing to be wondred at: for that so soone as the Sunne setteth, there is not one blossome seene upon the tree, but presently within halfe an houre after, there are as many blossomes uppon it, as the Tree can beare: they are [very] pleasant to behold, and smell [very] sweet, and so soone as the day commeth on, and the Sunne is rising, presently all the blossomes fall off, and cover all the ground, so that there remayneth not one [to be seene] upon the tree: the leaves shut themselves close together, so that it seemeth as though it were dead, untill evening commeth againe, and then it beginneth to blossome as [it did] before: the tree is as great as a Plum tree, and is commonly [planted] behinde[1] mens houses, [in their gardens] for a pleasure, and for the sweet smell: it groweth very quickly up, for that [many young plantes] do spring out of the roote, and as soone as those [young plantes] be above halfe a fadome high, they have presently as many blossoms uppon them as the branches on the trees, and although they cut the tree down [to the ground], yet within lesse then halfe a yeare there will branches[2] spring out of the roote, and likewise if you breake a branch off from the tree & set it in the earth, it will presently [take root and] grow, & within few dayes [after] beareth blossoms: the blossoms are in a manner like orange tree blossomes, the flowre being white, and in the bottome [somewhat] yellow and reddish, which in India they use for Saffron, therewith

pārijātaka, given to it by the people, but properly a name of the *Erythrina Indica*. This shrub was a king's daughter, named Parijātaka. She fell in love with the sun, who soon deserted her, on which she killed herself, and was burnt. This shrub arose from her ashes. Hence it casts its flowers in the morning, as it cannot bear the sight of the sun. Linschoten copies this further down. Acosta also gives an account, with a picture (*Tractado*, 1578, p. 224). Fr. Vincenzo Maria (*Viaggio*, 1672, p. 365) also describes it.—[B.]

[1] Orig. Dutch: "in the courts of the houses".....

[2] Orig. Dutch: "branches and blossoms".....

to dresse their meats, and to die with all as [wee doe] with [our] Saffron,[1] but it is neyther so good nor of so pleasant a taste, yet it serveth there for want of the other.

Some say, that the water of this tree being distilled, is good for the eyes; steeping linnen clothes in it, and so laying them to the eyes.[2]

This tree is found in no place but in Goa, and Malacca, & in some other places, where the Portingalles [inhabiting], have planted them,[3] for that they first came out of Malacca into India, but within the land there is none, they are called in the Malayan tongue Singady,[4] in Decaniin, Parisatico,[5] in Decan, Pul,[6] of the Arabians Guart,[7] of the Persians and Turkes Gul.[8] The cause of this name, as the Indians say,[9] is, that a Gentleman called Parisatico had a faire daughter, of whom the Sunne became amorous, and in the end obtained his pleasure of her, but [not long] after he fell in love with another, & forsook her, wherupon she [falling] in[to] dispaire killed herselfe, and according to the custome of the countrie [her body] was burnt [of whose ashes they say][10] this tree sprang up, and for the same cause was called Parisatico, and therefore they say by reason of the hatred it beareth unto the Sunne, it never bringeth foorth blossome or flowre, but by night, and in the day time for griefe they [presently] fall off.

The description of this Tree by Christopherus de Costa is set downe in this manner: that it is of the greatnes and similitude of a plumme tree, with many small branches, separated by

[1] "Country saffron", *i.e.*, turmeric, is largely used in cookery in India and some classes of women use it to celour their skins and faces. —[B.]

[2] Annotation by Dr. Paludanus.

[3] Orig. Dutch: "have brought and planted them by their abodes".....

[4] *I.e.*, "srigading".—[K.]

[5] *I.e.*, *pārijātaka*.—[B.]

[6] *I.e.*, *phul* = flower.—[B.]

[7] *I.e.*, *ward* = rose!—[B.]

[8] *I.e.*, *gul* = rose!—[B.]

[9] Orig. Dutch: "tell the fable thereof".

[10] Orig. Dutch: "to ashes, whence".....

divers knots and partitions,[1] *the leaves grow*[ing] *two and two together,* [*and*] *as bigge as plumme tree leaves, soft and rough on the out side, verie like to leaves of Sage, and inwardlie greene, and somewhat sharp, but not so uneven on the sides as plumme leaves, neyther yet so full of veines. In the middle betweene the two leaves there groweth a little stalke,* [*whereon are*][2] *five small heads,* [*& out of them*][3] *foure little rough*[4] *leaves, out of the middest wherof there doe spring five small white blossomes, of the greatnesse and forme of Orange blossomes, but somewhat smaller, fairer, and sweeter. The stalke seemeth more red than yellow, wherewith the Indians colour their meate, as wee doe with Saffron. The greene fruite is of the greatnes of a Lupyne, and in fashion like a little hart,* [*somwhat long*] *and devided in the middle,*[5] *having two places*[6] *wherein the seed doth lie, which is also like a hart, and as bigge as the seeds of Saint Johns bread, covered with a greene Skin, and somewhat bitter. Of all other Trees these are the pleasantest of smell, so that they bee not handled, for if they be, they doe presently loose their sweetnes and smell. The Indians are of opinion, that these flowers doe quicken and comfort the heart, but they are somewhat bitter, the Heathens likewise doe account the seede among their medicines that strengthen the hart. The flowers may be used in meat, the seed hath oftentimes bin caried into Portingall, and there sowed, but never would grow, what meanes soever they used, the flowers fall off when the sunne riseth as Clusius saith, eyther by reason of some contrariety, or because of the subtill nature of the sap, which the beames of the Sunne doe drie and consume: for those wheron the Sunne shineth not, stay somewhat longer on the tree. These flowers are* [*very*] *carefully gathered, whereof a very sweet and pleasant water is distilled,*

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "on which". [2] Orig. Dutch: "with".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "which consist of".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "roundish" (rontachtige).
[5] Orig. Dutch: "and if cut through in the length".
[6] Orig. Dutch: "has on both sides a small box".

which is called water de Mogli; some of this seede was brought me out of India by John Hughen, which I sowed in the ground, but it came not forth.[1]

THE 60. CHAPTER.

Of the Bettele leaves, & the fruit Arecca.

The leaves called Bettele[2] or Bettre, which is very common in India, and dayly eaten by the Indians, doe grow in all places of India, where the Portingals have discovered, not within the countrie but only on the sea coast, unlesse it bee some small quantitie. It will not growe in cold places, as China, nor in over hot places, as Mosambique and Sofala, and because it is so much used, I have particularly set it downe in this place, although it is already spoken of in many other places. You must understand that this Bettele is a leafe somewhat greater and longer out than Orange leaves, and is planted by sticks, whereupon it climeth like Ivie or pepper, and so like unto pepper, that a farre off growing each by other, they can hardlie bee descerned. It hath no other fruite but the leaves only, it is much dressed and looked unto, for that it is the dayly breade of India. The leaves being gathered doe continue long without withering, alwaies shewing fresh and greene, and are sold by the dozen, and there is not any woman or man in all India, but that every day eateth a dozen or two of the same leaves or more: not that they use them for foode, but after their meale tides, in the morning and all the day long, as likewise by night,[3] and [as they goe abroad] in the streetes, wheresoever they be you shal see them with some of these leaves in their handes,

[1] Annotation by Dr. Paludanus.

[2] The word has been adopted by the Portuguese from the Malayālam "vettila" or Tamil "vettilei", properly "the mere leaf".—[K.]

[3] Orig. Dutch: (add) "in the house".

which continually they are chawing. These leaves are not used to bee eaten[1] alone, but because of their bitternesse they are eaten[2] with a certaine kinde of fruit which the Malabares[3] and Portingales call Arecca, the Gusurates and Decanijns, Suparii, and the Arabians Fauffel.[4] This fruite groweth on trees like the Palme trees that beare the Nut Cocus in India, but they are somewhat thinner, with the leaves somewhat longer and smaller. The fruit is much like the fruit that groweth on Cipresse trees, or like a Nutmeg, though some [of them are] on the one side flat, & on the other [side] thicker,[5] some being somewhat greater and very hard. They cut them in the middle with a knife, and so chaw them with Bettele, they are within ful of veines, white, and [somwhat] reddish. There is a kinde of Arecca called Cechaniin,[6] which are lesse, blacker, and very hard, yet are likewise used with Bettele, and have no taste, but onlie of [the] wood, and yet it moysteneth the mouth, and coloureth it both red and blacke, whereby it seemeth that the lips and the teeth are painted with blacke blood, which happeneth when the Arecca is not well dried. There is another sort which in the eating or chawing [beeing swallowed downe,] maketh men light in the heade, as if they had drunke wine all the day long, but that is soone past. They use yet another mixture which they eate withall, that is to say, a cake or role[7] made of a certaine wood or tree called Kaate, and then they annoint the Bettele leaves with chalke made of burnt oyster shelles, which can doe no hurt in their bodies, by reason of the small quantitie of it, all this being chawed togeather, and the Iuice swallowed downe into their bodies, for all the rest they spit forth, they say it is very good for the maw, and against a stinking breath, [a soveraigne medi-

[1] Orig. Dutch: "used".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "chewed".
[3] Areca is the name in Telinga, Supārī in Sanskrit and Hindi.
[4] Read: faufel.
[5] Orig. Dutch: "high".
[6] Orig. Dutch: "Checanijn".
[7] Orig. Dutch: "little ball".

cine] for the teeth, and fastning of gummes, and [very good][1] against the Schorbucke,[2] and it is most true that in India verie few men are found with stinking breathes or tooth aches, or troubled with the Scorbuch or any such diseases, and although they be never so old, they alwaies have their teeth whole and sound, but their mouthes and teeth are still as if they were painted with black blood as I said before, and never leave spitting reddish spittle like blood. The Portingale women have the like custome of eating these Bettele leaves, so that if they were but one day without eating their Bettele, they perswade themselves they could not live: Yea, they set it in the night times by their Beddes heades, and when they cannot sleepe, they doe nothing els but chaw Bettele and spit it out againe. In the day time wheresoever they doe sit, goe, or stand, they are continually chawing thereof, like Oxen or Kine chawing their cud: for the [whole] exercise of [many Portingale][3] women, is onely all the day long to wash[4] themselves, and then fal to the chawing of their Bettele. There are some Portingales that by the common custome of their wives eating of Bettele, doe likewise use it. When the Indian women[5] go to visit one an other, the Bettele goeth with them, and the greatest pleasure or entertainment they can shew one to the other, is presently to present them with some Bettele, Arecca, and chalke in a woodden dish, which they keepe onely for that purpose. This Bettele is to be sold in every corner, and streete, and shoppe[6] [of the towne], as also in every high way for travellers and passengers, and is ready prepared, that is to say, so many Bettele leaves, one Arecca & some chalke, and many times some Cate for such as desire to have it, which the commonly

[1] Orig. Dutch: "remedy".
[2] Schorbucke (Dutch, "scheurbuyck") is scurvy.
[3] Orig. Dutch: "the". [4] Orig. Dutch (add): "and bathe".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "when the women or Indians".
[6] Orig. Dutch: "on all corners of the streets and shops".

keepe in their houses, or beare in their hands in a woodden painted dish, and so eate in this sort, first a peece of Arecca, and Cate, which they chaw, after that a leafe of Bettele, and with the naile of their thumbe, which they purposely weare sharpe and long, not round as wee doe, they pull the veines [or stringes] out of the leafe, and so smeare it with chalke, and rowling it together, they thrust it in their mouthes and chaw it. The first sap thereof they spit forth: and say that thereby they purge the head and the maw of all evill, and flegmaticke humors,[1] and their spittle being as fowle as blacke blood, which colour proceedeth from the Arecca; the rest of the Iuice they swallow downe.

The Indians goe continually[2] in the streetes and waies with Bettele and the other mixtures in their handes chawing, specially when they go to speake with any man, or come before a great Lord, thereby to retaine a good smell, and to keepe their breathes sweet, and if they should not have it [in that sort] with them whensoever they [meete or] speake with any man of account, it were a great shame for them.

The women likewise when they accompany secretly with their husbands, doe first eat a little Bettele, which (they think) maketh them apter to the game. All the Indians eate it after their meales, saying that otherwise their meate wold upbraide them, [and rise in their stomakes], and that such as have used to eate it, and leave it, doe [presently] get a stincking breath. They doe at certaine times forbeare the eating of Bettele, [as] when any of their neerest friends die, and also on certain fasting daies, as likewise some Arabians and the followers of Ali, Mahomets brother in lawe, doe upon their fasting dayes. In Malabar, this leafe is called Bettele,[3] in Decam Gusurate, and

[1] Orig. Dutch: "all evil humours and flegmaticke (as substantive").
[2] Orig. Dutch: "commonly".
[3] See p. 62.

Canam,[1] *it is called Pam,*[2] *in Malaion,*[3] *Siri,*[4] *by Auicenna, Tambul,*[5] *but better by others, Tambul.*[6] *Auicenna sayeth, that Bettele strengtheneth the maw, and fastneth the flesh of the Gummes, for which purpose the Indians doe use it, but where he affirmeth those leaves to be cold in the first degree, and drying in the second, it is not so, for either his Booke is false printed,*[7] *for hee was deceived* [*therein*], *for those leaves are hotte and drie in the end of the second degree, as Garcius ab Horto himself hath found out, likewise the taste and smell therof doe affirme it to be so. This Bettele is like a Citron leafe, but* [*somewhat*] *longer, sharpe at the ende, having certaine veines that runne along the leafe. The rypest are holden to bee the best, and are of colour yellow*[*ish*], *although some women chuse the unripe, because they are pleasanter*[8] *in the chawing. The leaves doe wither by much handling. The Bettele in Malacca, beareth a fruit like the tayle of an Efte, which because it tasteth well, is eaten: it is planted like a Vine upon stickes, as Hoppes*[9] *with us. Some for their greater benefit Plant it among Pepper, and among Arecca, and thereof doe make a pleasant Gallerie. This Bettele must be carefully looked unto, and often watered. He that desireth to knowe more hereof, let him reade the worthie commentaries of learned Clusius, uppon the Chapter of Garcius touching Bettele.*[10]

The Noblemen and Kings, wheresoever they goe, stand or sit, have alwaies a servant by them, with a Silver ketle [in their hand] full of Bettele and their mixtures, and [when they will eat,] give them a leafe ready prepared. And when any Ambassadour commeth to speake with the King, although

[1] Read: "Canara" or "Cuncam".

[2] *I.e.*, Hindustāni, "pān", properly "leaf" (Sanskrit, "parṇa").—[K.]

[3] Orig. Dutch: "Malaijen" (the country of the Malays).

[4] *I.e.*, Sirih.

[5] Orig. Dutch: "Tembul".

[6] *I.e.*, Sanskrit, *tâmbulá*, which has passed with slight modifications into sundry modern languages of India.—[K.]

[7] Orig. Dutch: "translated".

[8] Orig. Dutch: "they give more sound".

[9] Orig. Dutch: "Clif" (ivy).

[10] Annot. D. Paludani.

the King can understand them well, yet it is their maner (to maintaine their estates) that the Ambassadour speaketh unto them by an interpreter, [that standeth there], in presence, which done, he answereth againe by the same interpreter. In the meane time, the King lyeth on a bed, or else sitteth on the ground, uppon a Carpet, and his servant standeth by, readie with the Bettele which he continually chaweth, and spitteth out the Iuyce, and the remainder thereof, into a Silver Basin; standing by him, or else holden by some one of his slaves or [his] wives, & this is a great honour to the Ambassadour, specially if he profereth him of the same Bettele that he himselfe doth eate. To conclude, it is their common use to eate it, which because it is their dayly exercise, and that they consume so much,[1] I have made ye longer discourse, the better to understand it, although somewhat hath beene said thereof in other places. The Kings & Lords of India use pilles made of Arecca, Cate and Camphora, with beaten Lignum aloes,[2] and a little Amber, which they eate altogether with Bettele and Chalke, in steede of Arecca.

Some mixe Bettele with Licium, some and those of the richer & mightier sort with Campher, others with Lignum aloes, Muske and Amber Grijs, and beeing so prepared, is pleasant of taste and maketh a sweet breath. There are some that chaw Arecca either with Cardamomum, or with Cloves. Within the lande farre from the Sea, those leaves are solde verie deare. It is said that the King of Decan Mizamoxa[3] *spendeth yearely thereof, to the valew of above thirtie thousand Milreyes. This is their banquetting stuffe, and is given them by travellers,*[4] *and the Kings give it to their Subiects. To the rich [they give thereof*

[1] Orig. Dutch: "love it so much".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "crushed Linaloes" (which is the Portug. name for L. aloes).

[3] Orig. Dutch: "Nisamoxa"=Nizâm Sjah, residing in Ahmadnagar.

[4] Orig. Dutch: "this they make a present of to travellers".

being] *mixed with their owne hands, and to others* [*they send it*] *by their servants. When they send any man of Ambassage or otherwise;*[1] *there are certaine Silke Purses full of prepared Bettele delivered unto him, and no man may depart before it be delivered him, for it is a* [*signe or*] *token of his passe port.*[2]

By the pictures hereafter following see you may the figures of the fruites of Malacca called Duryoens, & ye tree Arbore de Rays, or roote tree, likewise the thicke Reedes, named by the Portingales Bambu, and by the Indians Mambu, with the tree called Arbore Triste, or the sorrowfull tree, as it is both by day and by night, and the tree where on Arecca doth grow, as likewise the Bettele. And because Pepper is oftentimes planted at the foote of the Arecca tree, where it groweth and clymeth up round about the body thereof, I have set it downe, in the same order as it groweth: The description whereof shall in an other place bee shewed, among the Spices and drugges of India, as also the Hearbes, serving for Physicke, and Apothecarie ware &c.

The 61. Chapter.

Of the Hearbe Dutroa, and a Plant called Herba Sentida, or the feeling Hearbe.

The Hearbe called Dutroa,[3] is very common in India; and groweth in everie fielde:[4] the leafe thereof is sharpe at the ende, like the pointe of a Speare, and is indented on the edges like the leafe of Beares claw, and about that bignesse, having in it[5] many long threedes [or veines, it groweth] without taste, or moysture,[6] and somewhat bitter and smell-

[1] Orig. Dutch: "when anybody will travel".
[2] Annot. D. Paludani.
[3] Originally Sanskrit, "dhustūra, dhattūra" (datura fastuosa).—[K.]
[4] Orig. Dutch: "everywhere in the field".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "in the length".
[6] Orig. Dutch: "almost without taste and moist".

ing like a Raddish. The flower or blossome of this Plant is verie like unto the blossome of Rose-marie in colour: and out of this blossome groweth a bud, much like the bud of Popie, wherein are certaine small kernels like the kernels of Melons, which being stamped, and put into any meate, wine, water, or any other drinke or composition, and eaten or drunke therewith, maketh a man, in such case as if hee were foolish [or out of his wittes,] so that he doth nothing else but laugh, without any understanding or sence [once] to perceive any thing that is done in his presence. And some time it maketh him sleepe as if he were dead, in that sort he continueth for the space of twentie foure houres: but if his feete bee washed with colde water, then hee commeth to himselfe againe before the twentie fower howers be expired. This Herbe the Indian and Portingall women use much to give unto their husbandes, and often times when they are disposed to bee merrie with their secrete lovers, they give it him, and goe in his presence and performe their leacherie together, and taking their husband by the beard, they will call him Cornudo, with other such like iestes, the man not knowing any thing thereof, but sitteth with his eyes open, not doing or saying any thing, but laugh and grin like a foole, or a man out of his wits: and when the time commeth that he reviveth out of his trance, he knoweth nothing what was done, but thinketh that hee had slept. This Hearbe the slaves use likewise to give their masters and mistresses, therby to robbe them and to breake open their Chests, which is oftentimes done; this Dutroa must bee used in measure, because it is a kind of poyson, for if a man give too much thereof hee may bring a man to his ende, unlesse some strong and present remedie be taken, by some conterpoyson or Purgation.

The remedy [*thereof*] *consisteth in medicines which cause vomiting, for he must cast al out* [*of his body*], *meate or what soever is remaining in his Maw, & then take divers purgations*

and[1] *strong Glisters, as also hard rubbing & binding both hands and feete, together*[2] *with letting bloud in the great toes.*[3]

This Hearbe groweth in all places in aboundance, and although it is forbidden to be gathered, or [once] used, nevertheless those that are the principal forbidders of it, are such as dayly eate thereof, for their owne wives sakes,[4] that thereby they might fulfill their pleasures with other men, which is the common living of them all, some few excepted. Some men are so used to eate and drink Dutroa, not knowing of it, that tasting onely of the Iuice of the leaves, they are presently in a transe, and so the wife is well assured, [and without all feare] to satisfie her lust. This and such like Hearbes there are[5] in India, and are much used, for that all the [care &] studie that ye women and wives of India[6] have, is day and night to devise meanes to satisfie their pleasures, and to increase lust, by all the devises they can imagine, and to make their bodies the apter thereunto. Which to effect they know [all the] divelish inventions and practises [that may bee devised], as experience dayly maketh it manifestly knowne, by such as travell[7] in India, as I myselfe have partly tried. There is yet an other Hearbe in India, called by the Portingales Herba Sentida, or feeling Hearbe, the cause [why it is called so,] is for that if any man passeth by it, and toucheth it, or throweth either Sand or any other thing upon it, presently it becometh [as though it were withered,][8] and closeth the leaves together, & cometh not to itself, [& to his first force againe][9] as long as the man standeth by it: but

[1] Orig. Dutch: "afterwards in purgation and diversion by strong clysters", etc.

[2] Orig. Dutch: "at times also".

[3] Annot. D. Paludani.

[4] Orig. Dutch: "such, to whom it is almost dayly given by their wives".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "there are many in whole India".

[6] Orig. Dutch: "the women and Indians".

[7] Orig. Dutch: "live".

[8] Orig. Dutch: "flat".

[9] Orig. Dutch: "neither will it open".

presently when the man is gone and turneth his backe, it openeth the leaves againe and becommeth stiffe, & faire againe as though they were newly growne: and touching it againe, it shutteth and becommeth withered[1] as before, so that it is a pleasure to see it, and strange to bee observed. Also there is a thing to bee wondered at and seemeth unpossible to such as have not seene it: and this it is within the towne and Island of Goa, at the one end of the towne, where the Kine, Oxen, Sheepe, and all kind of cattle are killed and slaine, to be solde for meate for the inhabitants, called Matavaquas: in that place there lye all the hornes of the saide beastes scattered and throwne about, as [if they were altogether] unprofitable, because the Portingals and Indians use them not, and it is likewise a great dishonour, and iniurie to the Spaniardes, and Portingales, to have anye hornes,[2] or once to shew a horne ech to other, or to throw it before his doore, for [revenge of] which [act], they would kill each other, and there is sharpe Iustice used, if any man doe offend [in that sort], by shewing [his neighbour] the[3] horne, or[4] naming it unto him, for that thereby they meane he is a man that is made cookolde by his wife. These hornes having layne there a certaine time, doe stick fast in the earth, (I meane the inner part of the horne) and there it taketh roote as if it were a tree, as I my selfe have seene and pulled forth many of them, that had rootes of two or three spannes in length, which was never seene in any place of the world. The cause whereof hath beene sought [and searched] by many curious speculators of strange things, but they could never find it out, and yet the earth is verie stonie. Whereby those of Goa, most oftentimes take it in good part, to heare themselves reported to be the greatest Cornudos, or wearers of hornes [in all the world], because hornes in other places may

[1] Orig. Dutch: "flat".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "anything (made) of horn".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "a".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "or only".

at once be put off but theirs of Goa have taken roote, and therfore it is impossible to cut them cleane away, for that because of the rootes, they will presently grow up againe, so that they must with patience beare them as long as they live. And herewith we will make an end of the description of the trees, plants, and common herbes of India, although there are [verie] manie, and a thousand sorts more, which in fashions and wonderfull effects doe much differ from the herbes of these countries; because I knowe not the proper names of them, I have onlie made mention of the commonest and best knowne.

THE 62. CHAPTER.

Of spices, drugges, plants and stuffes for Physitions and Apothecaries, that is the common sort, and such as are ordinarily used in India, [and] of their growing, [and] in what manner and place [they grow], and first of Pepper.

Pepper is of divers sorts, that is to say, blacke, white, [and] long [pepper][1] is called Canariin: the blacke is the commonest, and is most brought hither, and throughout al places of the world. The white and long are likewise carried into other places, though [verie] little [of it]: but the Pepper called Canariin is never carried forth of India, for it is not much esteemed; the blacke pepper which is the commonest and the best, groweth most on the coast within the Countrie of Malabar, which Coast beginneth 12 miles Southwards from Goa, and reacheth to the Cape de Comoriin, and is the land lying on the sea coast, betweene the high land of Ballagate and the sea:[2] further within the land there groweth none; [and] there is the place where all the pepper is yearelie laden, which is carried into Portingale, and from thence spread abroad throughout all Christendome: From thence

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and pepper that".

[2] See chapter 11.

also it is much shipped by the Mahometanes to the red sea, and upon the land inwards beyond Ballagate, as also to Persia, Arabia, and all the countries bordering upon the same: And although it be expresslie forbidden by the Portingales, & great care taken, and for the same cause coast and sea[s along the shore] are watched,[1] [that it be not shipped or sent out without their licence,] yet is there great quantities carried forth, and some times[2] with the Salvo-conducto, or passeport from the Portingals [themselves.] There groweth likewise much black pepper by Malacca, and in the Ilands of Sumatra, Iava, Sunda, and other places, as in the description of the coast and Ilands I have alredie declared, where also groweth white Pepper, which is like the blacke, saving the first outmost huske is white and smooth, without [any] wrinckle, but hath the [verie self] same vertue and taste that black pepper hath. It cometh oftentimes mingled with the Malacca pepper. The pepper that groweth in the countries about Malacca is many times also brought into Portingale, but verie little, for that it is 2 yeares betweene every ship that sayleth out of Portingale thither, which being there, taketh in some pepper, but most Cloves and Nutmegges with their flowers and other marchandises of China: But the most part of that pepper is used in the same countries, as in Pegu, Syon, & specially in China, and other countries bordering on the same, which deal continually one with an other. Pepper by the Malabares is called Molanga,[3] and in the countries by Malacca[4] Lada: in Arabia, Filfil: the Gusarates of Cambaia and Decaniins of Ballagate cal it Meriche:[5] and they of Bengala, Morois: and the long pepper which groweth onely in Bengala and Iava, is called Pelclim.[6] Pepper groweth and is

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "with all diligence".

[2] Orig. Dutch: (add) "also".

[3] Malayālam, "mulagu".—[K.]

[4] *I.e.*, in Malay.

[5] Properly Sanskrit, *marica*.—[K.]

[6] Read, as in the orig. Dutch: "Pepilini".—From the Sanskrit *pippali* (piper longum).—[K.]

planted at the foote of an other tree, and most part at the [foote of the] tree called[1] Arecca, or some such like [tree], & groweth upon[2] the tree, like Bettele or Ive. The leaves of pepper are like Orange leaves, but somewhat smaller, they are green and sharp at the ends, in the chawing it biteth the tong, and tasteth much like to Bettele, it growes in bunshes like grapes, but a great deale lesser and thynner, yet somewhat thicker then Gooseberries: they are alwaies green til they begin to drie and to ripen, which is in December and Ianuary, for at that time they are gathered. The long pepper groweth in Bengala, and some in the Iland of Iava, and is an other kinde of tree: the long pepper is of the length of a needle, or the tagge of a point,[3] but somewhat thicker, and all of a like thicknes: it is outwardly rugged, and of an ashie colour, and within somewhat white, with small seedes, but in taste and use it is like the other black and white pepper. The white pepper (as I sayd) is like the black, both in taste and forme, yet it is accounted for better & stronger, and is not in so great quantitie as the black. The Pepper called Canariins in the countrie of Goa and Malabar, almost of the fashion of Panike:[4] it is of an ashe colour, and holow within, with some smal kernels which in eating tasteth and heateth like other pepper, yet it is used onely by the poore people, and therefore is called Canariin pepper, that is to say Countrie mens pepper, or poore peoples pepper: therefore it is never laden away, for it is verie course and of little value, neither would it be able to rayse the fraight, and therfore is it left in the countrie. The other pepper is in India and all other Eastern countries, much used and spent by the Indians themselves, and that in greater quantitie than yearelie is carried [or laden from thence] for

[1] Orig. Dutch: "tree on which grows the".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "climbs against".
[3] Read: "the point of a tagge".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "buck-wheat".

other places, for they eate not any kinde of meate, but they put therein handfuls of pepper, al unbeaten, so that they waste the more.[1] In the description of Malabar[2] I have set downe in what places pepper doth grow, and is commonlie laden, and the havens where the Portingall shippes doe come and fetch it: therefore it needeth not here to be rehearsed: pepper is likewise much [used], when it is green, [to be] put in pots with vineger and salt, and so is kept a long time, and [in the same manner][3] carryed into Portingal: but it is most used in that sort [to be eaten] in India, and is called pepper in Achar,[4] in which manner they use to dresse all other sorts of spices in India, and eate it commonlie to procure [an] appetite, as we doe Capars, Olives, and Lemons, being pickled.

Pepper is used in the kitchen, and in Apothecaries shoppes, although in both places not as [a meate] or food, but for physicke: it warmeth the mawe, and consumeth the cold slymenes thereof; to ease the payne in the mawe which proceedeth of rawnesse and wind it is good to eate fyne pepper cornes everie morning. He that hath a [bad or] thick sight, let him use pepper cornes, with annis, fennel seed, and Cloves, for thereby the mystinesse [of the eyes,] which darken the sight is cleered and driven away. The Apothecaries make a confection of 3. *sorts of pepper, in this sort, of white, blacke and long Pepper of each* 25 *drammes, wilde tyme, ginger, annis seed, of each an ounce,[5] with honnie as much as needeth to make a confection, which is good for such as have a cold maw, the Nucken,[6] the paine in the liver, and the Dropsie.[7]*

[1] Orig. Dutch: "so that they devour them in great quantities".
[2] See chapter 11.
[3] Orig. Dutch: "also".
[4] Achar, see chapter 64.
[5] Orig. Dutch: "loot" (half an ounce of old weight).
[6] A Dutch word for freakishness.
[7] Annotatio D. Paludani.

THE 63. CHAPTER.

Of Cinamom.

Cinamon in Latin is called Cinamomum: by the Arabians, Quirsa:[1] by the Persians Darchina,[2] by the men of Seylon, (where it most groweth) Curdo:[3] of the people of Malacca, Caysman:[4] and by the Malabares, Camea:[5] the trees are as great as Olive trees, and some lesser, with leaves of Colmi like Baye leaves, but of fashion like Citron leaves, though somewhat smaller. They have white blossomes, and a [certaine] fruite of the greatnes of black Portingall Olives, whereof also Oyle is made, which is used for manie thinges. The tree hath two barkes, [but] the second bark is the Cinamon, it is cut off in [foure] square peeces, and so laid to dry, at the first it is ashe colour, after as it beginneth to dry, it roulleth together of it self, and looketh of the colour as it commeth hether, which proceedeth of the heate of the Sunne. The tree from whence the barke is taken they let it stand, & within 3 yeres after it hath an other barke, as [it had] before. These trees are in great abundance, for they grow [of themselves] without planting, [in the open fields][6] like bushes: the roote of this tree yeeldeth a water, which smelleth like Camphora, it is forbidden to be drawn forth, for spoyling the trees. The Cinamon that is not wel dried is of ashe colour. & that which is over much dryed, blackish, but the best dryed is reddish: there is much and excellent water distilled out of Cinamon while it is half green, which is much used in India, & manie[7] times caryed into Portingal, and

[1] Read: "Quirfa".
[2] Dārchīnī, *i.e.*, Chinese wood.
[3] Kurundu (Singhalese) = wood.
[4] The Malay word is "Kayu manis" (sweet wood).
[5] Tam. Karua?
[6] Orig. Dutch: "wild".
[7] Orig. Dutch: "some".

other places; it is very pleasant both to drinke and to smell, but very hote and strong: it is used against the Colicke and other diseases proceeding of cold, it is likewise good against a stincking breath, and evill savor of the mouth. There is likewise a water made[1] of the blossomes of this tree, but not so good, nor so well esteemed as that of Cinamon it self. The places where Cinamon groweth, is most and best in the Iland of Seylon, wherin there is whole woods full of [Cinamon trees]: in the coast of Malabar there groweth likewise great store and some woods of Cinamon, but not half so good and lesser trees, the barke being grayer and thicker, and of smal vertue. The Cinamon of the Iland of Seylon is the best and finest, and is [at the least] three times dearer in the price. The Cinamon of Malabar is called Canella de Mato or wilde Cinamon, and is forbidden to be carried into Portingale: yet there is great quantity shipped, but all under the name of Cinamon of Seylon, whereby it passeth, and the King hath[2] his full custome as well for the good as for the bad. When the Cinamon of Seylon is worth in India 50 or 60 Pardawes the Quintale, the wilde Cinamon is worth but 10 or 12 Pardawes: but it is all registred in India, for Seylons Cinamon, and payeth custome in Lisbon, each Quintale 15 or 16 Milreyes, as well the good as the bad, and all other spices after the rate: and there may be nothing shipped in India, no not so much as the slaves, but it must all be registred in Cochin: and if there be any thing found, to be brought into Portingal, and not registred [there] it is forfait to the King. There groweth Cinamon also in the Ilands of Iava, and by Malacca, but [very] little, and not so good as that of Seylon. The trees which they burne in India, for wood, some of them are like Cinamon in burning, and smell.

Cinamon healeth,[3] *it openeth & strengtheneth all the inward*

[1] Orig. Dutch: "distilled".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "for that the king should have".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "warms".

parts, it is somewhat attractive,[1] *stretcheth*[2] *the mawe, and digesteth the meate, it is also used against all kinde of poyson, that may hurt the hart. Cinamon with Pennyroyall and Bivoet*[3] *water drunk driveth away the Volgher,*[4] *openeth the matrice, and maketh women have their flowers: it is likewise good against Fusten, and Catharres, that fall downe from the head into the lower parts, also against the Dropsie, and breaking*[5] *or stopping of the kidneyes, &c. The water and Oyle of Cinamon doe greatlie strengthen all the inward parts, as head, hart, mawe and lyver, &c.*[6]

The 64. Chapter.

Of Ginger.

Ginger groweth in manie places of India, yet the best, & most caryed abroad, is that which groweth in the coast of Malabar: it groweth like thin and young Netherland reedes of two or three spannes high, the roote [whereof] is the Ginger, being greene, it is much eaten in India, for sallets, as also sodden in Vineger, which they call Achar,[7] as I said of pepper, and other fruites that are used in that manner throughout [al] India: the time when they are most gathered and begun to be dried, is in December and Ianuarie: they drie it in this sort, [that is,] they cover it with potearth, which they doe to stop and fill up the holes, and thereby to make it continue the fresher, for the potearth preserveth it from wormes, without the which it is presentlie consumed by them: it is little esteemed in India, notwithstanding there is

[1] Orig. Dutch: "astringent".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "strengthens".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "byvoet" (artemisia).
[4] Dutch word for after-birth.
[5] Orig. Dutch: "ghebreken" (diseases).
[6] Annot. D. Paludani.
[7] *I.e.*, the Persian and Hindostani name.—[B.]

much shipped as well to the red sea as to Ormus, Arabia and Asia,[1] but little for Portingale, because it will not save ye fraught and custome: onlie the gunner of the Indian shippes may lade and bring certaine Quintals without paying any custome, which by the King of Portingale was of long tyme granted unto them, and is yet observed: and this they may sel to marchants, and so by this meanes there is some brought, otherwise but very little, for that the most part of Ginger brought into Spain, cometh from Cabo verde, the Ilands[2] of S. Thomas, Brasilia, and the Iland of S. Domingo in ye Spanish Indies, which is much trafficked [withall] in Spaine: wherefore that of the Portingall Indies is little brought [out of the country,] because of the long way & great charges, & yet it is better then other Ginger:[3] as also all other spices, mettals, and stones, [that are brought out] of the Orientall Indies,[4] that is out of the Portingales Indies, are for goodnesse and vertue better then any other, which the continuall traffique[5] hath sufficiently made knowne. There is likewise much Ginger conserved in Suger [which commeth out of the countrie] of[6] Bengala, but the best commeth from China, it is verie good to eate, and much used in India, & broght out of Portingal into these countries.[7]

Ginger by the Arabians, Persians, and Turkes is called Gengibil,[8] *in Gusurate, Decan, and Bengala, when it is freshe and greene, Adrac,*[9] *and when it is dryed Sucte,*[10] *in Malabar both*

[1] Read: Persia.
[2] Read: "island".
[3] The contrary opinion now prevails.—[B.]
[4] Orig. Dutch: "..... stones that are called Oriental".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "the daily experience".
[6] Orig. Dutch: "in".
[7] Orig. Dutch: "brought into Portugal and these countries".
[8] Ar. Zendjabîl, vulg. zendjibîl.
[9] *I.e.*, Sanskrit, "ārdraka".—[K.]
[10] Probably the Mahratti "sukata", slightly dried, or some cognate word.—[K.] These names are, as usual, borrowed from Garcia de Orta. *Adrak* is the common Hind. for "green ginger"; *sucte* is probably an error for *sonth*, the common Hind. for "dry ginger".—[Y.]

dryed & green Imgi,[1] *in Malayo Aliaa.*[2] *It groweth like water Lillies, or Sword-hearbe, but somewhat blacker, with a stalke aboute two or three handfuls high, and with a roote like a Lillie,*[3] *not spreading*[4] *forth as Antonius Musa writeth, and is not so sharpe, specially that which groweth in Bacaim, because of the over great moysture. This roote is cut small and mixed with other rootes, and so eaten for Sallets with oyle, salt and Vineger, it is also sodden with flesh and fish. It groweth*[5] *in all places of India, and is sowed or planted, for that which commeth up of it selfe, is not so good. The best and greatest store commeth out of Malabar, and by the Arabians and Persians it is much desired, next it is the Ginger of Bengala. The third is that of Dabut*[6] *and Bacaim and of all the coast along; in the wilde fields and inwardly within the land there is little found. There is also some found in the Ilands of S. Laurence and Comaro.*[7] *The vertue and properties of Ginger is that it maketh a man to goe easily to the stoole, and restoreth a mans strength that is decayed. But it is found contrary in other Authors, that Ginger stoppeth, for that it causeth good digestion, and so laskements, proceeding of raw moystnesse, is stopped. It heateth a cold maw, and is good against humors, that darken the eyes, and is used in many*[8] *medicines.*[9]

[1] Malayālam "iñji", green ginger.—[K.]
[2] Read: "aliya". The common Mal. and Jav. name is djahé.
[3] Orig. Dutch: "lies" (iris).
[4] Orig. Dutch: "not creeping forth".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "it groweth almost".
[6] Read: "Dabul".
[7] *I.e.*, Madagascar and the Comores.
[8] Orig. Dutch: "great".
[9] Annotatio D. Paludani.

The 65. Chapter.

Of Cloves.

Cloves are by the Turkes, Persians, Arabians, and most part of the Indians called Calafur,[1] and in the Ilands of Maluco, where they are only found and do grow Chamke.[2] These Ilands are five, lying under the Equinoctiall line, as in the descriptions therof is declared.[3] They have nothing else but Cloves, which are caried from thence, throughout the world, the trees whereon they grow, are like Bay trees, the blossomes at the first white, then greene, and at the last red and hard which are the Cloves, and when the blossomes are greene, they have the pleasantest smell in all the world. The Cloves grow verie thicke together and in great numbers they are gathered and then dried, their right colour, when they are drie, is a darke yelow, and to give them a blacke colour, they are commonly smoked. The Cloves that stay on the tree ungathered are[4] thicke, and stay on till the next yeare, which are those that are called the mother of the Cloves. And in the place where the trees stand, there groweth not any grasse or greene Hearbe at all, but it is wholly drie, for that those trees draw all the moysture unto them. That which the Portingals call Baston,[5] or with us the Stocke of the Clove, (and is the stalke whereby they hang on the trees) is gathered with the Cloves and so they are mingled together: for that in Maluco they never garble their Cloves, but in India they are many times parted, though [verie] little: for they are most part sold and used with dust,[6] and

[1] Ar., Qaranfol.
[2] Chĕnkeh (Mal. and Jav.).
[3] See chapter 21.
[4] Orig. Dutch: "become".
[5] See p. 113 of vol. i, note 8.
[6] Orig. Dutch: (add) "mother".

stalkes and all together, but such as are to bee sent to Portingall are severed [and clensed]. The Cloves are so hotte of nature, that whensoever[1] they are made cleane, and seperated from their Garbish, if there chance to stand either Tubbe or Payle of water in the Chamber where they clense them, or any other vessell with wine or [any kind of] moysture, it will within two dayes [at the furthest] be wholly soken out and dryed up, although it stand not neere them, by reason of the great heate of the Cloves, that draw all moysture unto them, as by experience I have often seene. The same nature is in the unspunne Silke of China, so that whensoever the Silke lyeth any where in a house upon the[2] flowre, that is to say, uppon boordes, a foote or two above the ground, and that the flowre is sprinkled and covered with water, although it toucheth not the Silke, in the Morning all that water will bee in the Silke, for that it draweth it all unto it. And this tricke the Indians often times use to make their Silke weigh heavie, when they sel it, for it can neither be seen nor found in the Silke. But returning to our matter, the Cloves grow about the length of a great shot from the Sea side, and are neither planted nor set, and nothing else is done [unto them,] but only when they plucke and gather them, they make the place under the trees [verie] cleane. The tree will not grow verie close to the Sea side, nor farre from it, for these Ilands are altogether compassed about with the Sea.

When it is a fruitfull yeare, then the Cloves are in greater abundance then the leaves. When they gather them, they do not pluck them with their hands, but with ropes which they fasten about the branches, and by force they shake them off, and by that meanes the trees are so spoyled, that the next yeare after they yeelde but little fruite: but the second yeare then after ensuing, there grow up trees of the Cloves

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "in India".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "or upon a".

that fell upon the ground, [when they gathered them the two yeares before,] like Chesnut trees, and they growe verie sound, because of the great rayne that falleth in those places: for those Ilandes lye under the Equinoctiall line, and yéelde fruite within eight yeares, and so continue above a hundreth yeares. The time when they are gathered and dried, is from September to Ianuarie. When the Cloves are greene, they make good conserves in Sugar, and are likewise salted in Vineger & so kept in pots, and made of Achar,[1] in which manner they are carried into Malacca and India. They likewise distill water out of the green Cloves which is verie cordiall, and used in many Medecines. The Indian women use much to chawe Cloves, thereby to have a sweete breath, which the Portingales wives that dwell there, doe now begin to use; the leaves of the Clove-trees, are altogether like Bay-leaves.

Cloves grow on trees like Bay-trees both in forme and quantitie, save onely that their leaves are something lesser, like Almonds or Willow-leaves. They are full of branches, and have abundance of blossomes, which doe turne these fruites, [*and are*] *called Cloves because in forme* [*and shape*] *they doe resemble* [*a Birdes*] *clawes. They growe like* [*the*] *Mirtle-tree*[2] *upon the uttermost branches. Cloves are much used both in meate and in medicines. The people of Iava desire the gray Cloves, that hang a whole yere*[3] [*and more*] *upon the trees, and are no Males, as Avia*[4] *doth absurdly advise, and* [*as*] *we* [*of the common sort doe, who*] *covet the thinnest. When they are greene, they use to salt them with salt and Vineger in Maluco, and some they put in Suger, which are verie pleasant to bee eaten. The water of greene Cloves distilled is very pleasant of smel, and strengthneth the hart, likewise they procure sweating in men*

[1] Orig. Dutch: "made achar of them".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "mirtle-berries".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "hung above a year".
[4] Avicenna (?)

that have the Pox, with Cloves, Nutmegges, Mace, long and black Pepper; some lay the poulder of Cloves upon a mans head, that hath a paine in it, that proceedeth of colde. They strengthen the Liver, the Maw, and the hart, they further digestion, they procure evacuation of the Urine, and stop lascativenes, and being put into the eyes, preserveth[1] *the sight, and foure Drammes being drunke with Milke, doe procure lust.*[2]

THE 66. CHAPTER.

Of Mace, Folie, or flowers of Nutmegges, and [of] Nutmegges.

The Nutmegge tree is like a Peare tree or a Peach tree, but that they are lesse, and it hath round leaves. These trees growe in the Iland[3] of Banda, not farre from Maluco, and also in the Ilandes of Iavas & Sunda, from whence they are carried to China, and Malacca, and also[4] into India and other places. The fruite is altogether like great round Peaches, the inward[5] part whereof is the Nutmegge. This hath about it a hard shell like wood, wherein the Nut lyeth loose: and this wooden shel or huske is covered over with Nutmeg flower, which is called Mace, and over it is the fruite, which without is like the fruite of a Peach. When it is ripe it is a verie costly meate, and of a most pleasant savor. This fruite or Apples are many times conserved in Sugar being whole, and in that sort caried throughout India, and much esteemed: for in truth it is the best conserve in all India, and is many times brought over into Portingall, and

[1] Orig. Dutch: "strengthen".

[2] Annotatio D. Paludani.

[3] On the map of Linschoten the greatest island of the Banda group bears the name of Banda. So it is in Portuguese writers. They called the archipelago "Ilhas de Bandam", or "I. de Banda".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "so further".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "most inward".

from thence hether. They are likewise salted and put in Vineger, which is much used in India. When the Nuttes begin to be ripe, then they swell, and the first shell or huske bursteth in peeces, and the Nutmegge flowers doe continue redde, as [any] Scarlet, which is a verie faire sight to behold, [especially] if the trees bee full of fruite. Sometimes also the Mace breaketh, which is the cause that the Nutmegges come alltogether without the Mace, and when the Nutmegge drieth,[1] then the Mace falleth off, and the red changeth into Orenge colour, as you see by the Mace that is brought hether. The Ilands where they grow, specially Banda, are very unholesome countries,[2] as also the Ilands of Maluco, many that traffique thether die [before they depart from thence,] or [if they escape, they] are in great perill of their lives, by sicknesse, notwithstanding great gaine maketh men to travell thether. The Nutmegge (by the inhabitants of Banda, where they are most growing) is called Palla,[3] and the Mace or Nutmegge flower, Buna Palla. The Decanijns and Indians call it Iapatry, and the Mace Iayfol.[4]

The trees whereon Nutmegs and Mace do grow, are not unlike to Peare trees, but shorter and rounder leaves, they are good for paine in the head, for[5] *the mother and the Sinewes. The Nut is compassed about with three kinds of Barkes. The first & outermost is*[6] *like the greene shell of an Acorne, and when they are ripe that shel openeth: then you find a thin shell or barke like a Nutte,*[7] *which compasseth the fruite, and by*

[1] Orig. Dutch: "is dried".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "is a ..... country".

[3] Read (Mal. and Jav.): "Pala", and for the mace "Bunga pala". —Pala is originally Sanskrit *phala*, "nutmeg".—[K.]

[4] According to the Petersburg Dict., the Sanskrit *jātipatrī*, whence the slightly corrupted *japatry*, is "mace", but *jātiphala*, "nutmeg". In Amara-Kosha, however, both *jātīkoça* and *jātiphala* are explained to be "mace".—[K.] (Mace in Hind., *jaipatrī* and *jawatrī;* nutmeg, *jaiphal.*) —[Y.]

[5] Read: "of".

[6] Orig. Dutch: (add) "in form".

[7] Orig. Dutch: "like a little net".

us is called Mace, which both in meate and Medicine is verie serviceable and wholesome. The third shell is harder and more like unto wood then the first, and is like the Acorne, but that it is blacker, which being opened, you find the Nutmegge therein.

When the fruit is ripe, and that the first shell breaketh open, then the Mace is of a most faire red colour, and when the fruit is drie, the Mace likewise doth change,[1] *and becommeth a Golden yellow.*

There are two sorts of Nutmegges, one long, which are called Males, the other round, which are better & stronger.

The Nutmeg comforteth the braine, sharpneth the memorie, warmeth and strengthneth the Maw, driveth winde out of the body, maketh a sweet breath, driveth downe Urine, stoppeth the Laske,[2] *and to conclude, is good against all colde diseases in the heade, in the braine, the Mawe, the Liver and the Matrice.*

The Oyle thereof is better then the rest, for all the aforesaid named infirmities.

Mace is specially good for a colde and a weake maw, it procureth digestion of the meate, drieth up all evill humors and breaketh wind.[3]

The 67. Chapter.

Of Cardamomum.

Cardamomum is a kinde of spice which they use much in India to dresse with their meates, and commonly they have it in their mouthes to chaw upon. It is very good against a stincking breath and evill humors in the head, and serveth also for other things in medecines: it groweth like other graynes, and is verie like to Panyke,[4] but of a white colour drawing somewhat towards yealow. The huskes are as grate

[1] Orig. Dutch: "burst".
[2] *I.e.*, diarrhœa.
[3] Annotatio D. Paludani.
[4] Orig. Dutch: "buck-wheat".

as the huskes of the Panyke graines, but somewhat smal:[1] within there is about 10 or 12 graines [of berryes], which is the Cardamomum. There are two sorts of Cardamomum, that is to say, great and small, and called by the Malabares, Etremilly:[2] the Gusurates, Decaniins & Bengalers cal it Hil,[3] and the Mores inhabiting among them, call it Hilachij.[4] This is much used in India, and is a marchandise which is caryed into all places of India: most of it groweth in Calecut and Cananor, places on the coast of Malabar: it is likewise in other places of Malabar, and in the Iland of Iava, and from the countries aforesaid it is most caryed into other places, but little brought into Portingal, because of the great charges, and long way: yet many times the Saylers and other travellers[5] bring it. They sieth no flesh in India, but commonly they put Cardomomum into the pot, it maketh the meate to have as good a savor and a taste as any of the other spices of India.

Avicenna sayth there are two kinds of it, the one he calleth Saccolaa quebir,[6] that is great Cardamomum, and the other Saccolaa Regner,[7] that is, smal Cardamomum: in Malabar it is called Etremelly, in Seylan Encal, in Bengala Gusaratte, and Decan sometimes Hil, & sometimes Elachi, but that is by the Moores, for the Heathens throughout all India call it Dors[8] Cardamomum: to the auncient Grecians, as Galen, Dioscorides, and others, [it] was [altogether] unknowne: & although Galen in his seventh booke of Simples saith, that Cardamomum is not

[1] Orig. Dutch: "smaller".

[2] This is a misprint for Êlattari, the Malayalam name, lit. "rice (ari) of Êlam".—[B.]

[3] From Sanskrit, "elā"="amomum", and "elettaria".—[K.]

[4] Orig. Dutch: "Helachij" (elāchi, the Hindi name).

[5] Orig. Dutch: "marineirs".

[6] Arabic: Qâqolla. Kabir is great.

[7] Read: Çaghîr, little.

[8] Orig. Dutch: "only Dore" (?). With the following word begins a new sentence.

so hot, as Nasturcium or water Cresses, but pleasanter of savour, and smell with some small bitternesse, yet those signes or properties doe not agree with the Cardamomum of India. Dioscorides in his first booke and fift Chapter commending the Cardamomum brought out of Comagens, Armenia, and Bosphoras (although hee saith also that such doe growe[1] *in India and Arabia) saith, that wee must choose that which is full, and tough in breaking, sharpe & bitter of taste, and [with] the smell thereof causeth a heavinesse in a mans head: yet is the Indian Cardamomum caryed into those places, from whence Dioscorides affirmeth that his Cardamomum doeth come, although it bee neyther tough in breaking, nor annoyeth the head, neyther is bitter of taste, nor so sharpe as Cloves: the great Cardamomum hath a shell [is] long and three cornered, wherein are [certaine] pale red kernels with corners: the small Cardamomum hath likewise a three cornered huske, yet shorter, and with smaller kernels, parted in the middle with a thinne skinne: & this Cardamomum is of three sorts, as minus, medium, minimum, that is small, smaller, and smallest of all. It heateth the Mawe, digesteth the meat, and driveth away the giddines of the head: it is also eaten with Bettele, to purge the head & maw of slime [and filthinesse].*[2]

The 68. Chapter.

Of Lacke [or hard Waxe].

Lacke[3] by the Malabares, Bengalers, and Decaniins, is called Assii,[4] by the Moors Lac: the men of Pegu (where the best is found, and most trafiqued withall) doe call it Treck,

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "also".

[2] Annotatio D. Paludani.

[3] See, on the origin of this word, Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 295.

[4] There is something wrong in this statement. The name of "lac" in Malayalam is "arakku".—[K.]

and deale much therewith by carrying it unto the Island of Sumatra (in time past called Taprobana)[1] and there they exchange it for Pepper, and from thence it is carried to the redde sea, to Persia and Arabia, whereupon the Arabians, Persians and Turkes call it Loc Sumutrj, that is, Lac of Sumatra, because it is brought from thence into their countries. The manner how it is made is thus: in Pegu, and those places from whence it commeth, there are certaine very great Pismyres with winges, which fly[2] uppe into the trees, that are [there] like Plum trees, and such[3] [other Trees,] out of the which trees comes a certaine gumme, which the Pismires sucke up, and then they make the Lac rounde about the branches of the trees, as Bees make Hony and Waxe, and when it is ful, the owners of the trees come, and breaking off the braunches lay them to drie, and being drie, the branches shrinke out and the Lac remayneth behinde like a Reede, sometimes the woode breaketh within them, but the lesse woode it hath within it, the better it is: the peeces and crummes that fall upon the ground, they melt them together, but that is not so good, for it hath[4] filth and earth within it: it happeneth oftentimes that they finde the Pismires winges within the raw Lac. When the Lac is raw, as it commeth from the Tree, it is a darke red colour, but being refined and cleansed, they make it of all colours in India.

They beat the Lac to powder, and melt it, and so mixe all manner of colours upon it as they list, redde, blacke, greene, yellow, or any other colour, & make peeces thereof, such as are sold here to seale letters withall.[5]

Them they dresse their bedsteds withall, that is to say, in turning of the woode, they take a peece of Lac of what

[1] See note 2, on p. 107 of vol. i, as regards this error.
[2] Orig. Dutch: "leap".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "such like".
[4] Orig. Dutch: (add) "always any".
[5] Annotatio D. Paludani.

colour they will, and as they turne it when it commeth to his fashion, they spread the Lac upon the whole peece of woode, which presently with the heat of the turning [melteth the Waxe, so that it entreth into the crestes &] cleaveth unto it, about the thicknesse of a mans naile: then they burnish it [over] with a broad straw or dry Rushes so [cunningly,] that all the woode is covered withall, and it shineth like Glasse,[1] most pleasant to behold, and continueth as long as the wood, being well looked unto: in this sort they cover all kinde of householde stuffe in India, as Bedsteddes, Chaires, stooles, &c. and all their turned woodworke, which is wonderful common and much used throughout all India: the fayrest workemanshippe thereof commeth from China, as it may be seene, by all things that come from thence, as desks, Targets, Tables, Cubbordes, Boxes, and a thousand such like thinges, that are all covered and wrought with Lac of all colours and fashions; so that it maketh men to wonder at the beautie and brightnes of the colour, which is altogether Lac: they likewise use Lac to fill their Golde and Silver workes, that is to say, haftes of knives, and other thinges, which they make very fayre outwardly of Silver, and inwardly full of Lac. The Indians likewise are so cunning, that they make Ringes of Gold, which [to mans sight] seem [very] fayre and bright, as though they were all of massy Gold, inwardly they are hollow and stopt with Lac, and cannot bee perceyved, unlesse a man bee advertised thereof. There is Lac likewise in Ballagatte and Malabar, but [very] little: the greatest quantitie which from thence is carryed throughout India, and all other places, commeth out of the kingdome of Pegu.

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and as smooth as a mirror".

The 69. Chapter.

Of Annil or Indigo.

Annil or Indigo by the Gusurates is called Gali, by others Nil:[1] it is a costly colour, and much caryed and trafiqued into Portingall: it groweth in India in the kingdom of Cambaia: the hearbe is very like Rosemary, and is sowed like other Hearbes, and when [time and] season serveth, pulled and dryed, and then [it is] made wette and beaten, and so certayne dayes after dryed againe, and then prepared. At the first it is a fine greene, but after it is a fayre blew, as you see it when it commeth hether, and the cleaner it is from earth and dust, the better it is to prove if it be good: they burne it with a candle, and if then it fall out like fine meale, it is good: but if it be grosse like sande, it is not good: also being throwne into the water if it swimmeth it is good, but if it sinke it is not good: this Annil was more accounted of, and[2] commonly more worth then Cloves, both in India and in Portingall: the King not long since[3] hath farmed it out, so that no man may buy it in India, nor bring it into Portingall but onely the Farmers as they do with Pepper.

Annil or Nil, as the learned Doctor Camerarius witnesseth, which hath had some of the plantes within his garden, hath sky coloured leaves, being like to the leaves of the Hearbe which in Latine is called Barba Iovis, in Dutch Donder baert, but somewhat broader.[4]

[1] Originally Sanskrit, "nīla", which properly means dark coloured, blue.—[K.]

[2] Orig. Dutch: (add) "is always or".

[3] In 1588. See Couto, *Da Asia*, Dec. x, livro x, cap. vi.

[4] Annotatio D. Paludani.

THE 70. CHAPTER.

Of Amber, Muske, Algallia or Civet.

Amber[1] by some men is thought to be the fome of a Whale fishe: others thinke it to bee the filth and dung of the Whale, and others a certain kind of Betumen, which floweth out of a well that standeth on the sea side,[2] and casteth ye Amber up, but it is to bee thought, that it is neyther of the first two, for if it were, men shoulde continually finde Amber in these Countries, specially on the coast of Biscay, where so many Whales are taken, yet is there no Amber found in that place: it were rather to bee beléeved that it is a Betumen or pitch, proceeding out of some fountaine [or Well], or some thing that floweth from the bottome of the Sea, & so driveth upon the water, because it is found in some places, and in some places not: where it is most found, and from whence it dayly commeth, is from the coast of Soffala, Mosambique, and on the coast of Melinde or Abex: It is likewise sometimes found by the Islandes of Maldiva, and the cape de Comorijn, but not much, and not so commonly as by Soffala and Mosambique. There are others that thinke it to be a spungie earth, of some unknowne[3] Island, drought or hidden cliffes, and by force of the sea in time broken off by peeces, and cast[4] [upon the shore] like driftes or such like thinges, for it is often times found floating and driving in peeces of ten or twelve, and some of fifty or sixtie pannes[5] broad.

[1] From the Arabic "*al-'anbar*", "qui était à l'origine le nom d'un poisson, de la semence duquel on tirait l'ambre gris" (Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 188).

Mahn (*Etymol. Untersuch.*, pp. 61 ffg.) points out that the name was transferred from *Ambergris* to yellow amber.—[B.]

[2] Orig. Dutch: "on the bottom of the sea".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "covered".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "cast up".

[5] Read: "spannes".

They say that in India there hath bin found whole[1] Islandes of Amber, which being well marked by those that found and discovered them, whereby to come thether againe and lade thereof, when they came to the same place they could not finde them. In Anno 1555. there was a peece found not far from the cape de Comoriin that weighed 30 quintales, and he that found it, thought it to be pitch, whereupon he sold it for a small price, but afterwardes being knowne, it was greatly esteemed: likewise oftentimes there commeth Amber that is mingled with shels, and all spotted with the dung of Sea foules, that sit theron. There is Amber of a gray colour, with whitish vaines, that is the best: & it is called Amber Griis. There is a kinde of Amber which is perfect blacke, but not so much esteemed as the gray; to proove if the Amber be good they thrust pinnes into it and that which yeeldeth most oyle is the best. It is much used among the Indian Noble men, and kinges in their daylie meates, they use it likewise much to provoke lust and [to increase nature, thereby] to bee the more apt for the same, as also in many faire workes with muske, Civet, Benioin, and other sweete thinges mixed together, whereof they make fine apples and peares wrought about with silver & gold, which they beare [in their hands] to smell uppon, and in haftes of knives, handles of poinyards, [and such like,] which they make[2] of silver, and Amber[3] within [them,] which [in divers places] shineth through [them.] These and such like workes are very common in India among the rich and mightie men of the country, as well Indians as Portingales.

Ambarium in Latine, Ambar in Arabia,[4] is a kind of pitch, as the Author very well affirmeth, cast up out of some fountaine that standeth in the bottome of the sea, which being

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "little".
[2] Orig. Dutch: (add) "very beautifully".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "the foresaid materials".
[4] Read: "Arabic".

set in the Sunne doth presently become hard like other thinges that are also taken out of the sea, as Corall, &c. This Ambar by reason of the sweet & pleasant smell, doth comfort the head and the heart, and by the drynes thereof it [draweth away &] consumeth all[1] *watery humors [out] of the stomacke, and*[2] *good against all filthie and foulenesse [in a mans body]. It cureth such as have the falling sicknes. It is good against the rising of the Mother, being received in and thrust up [into the body] : and conclude it is good for all old men, and for every cold complection.*[3]

The Almiscar,[4] Mosseliat, [or Muskcat] commeth from China: They are beastes like Foxes, or little Dogs, which being killed, and beaten and bruised,[5] they let them lie and rot, blood and flesh together: which done they cut them in peeces both skinne, flesh and blood, all mixed togeather, and therof make divers purses, which they sowe [in a round forme,][6] and are in that sort caried abroad & sold [to divers men]. Those purses are comonly of an ounce waight the peece, and by the Portingales are called Papos,[7] but the right Papos, and perfect Mosseliat is the ballockes[8] or stones of that beast: the others although they passe among them for Mosseliat, are not so good as the stones: therefore the Chinars,[9] who in all thinges are very subtill, [and fine workemen,] make the purses cleane round, like the stones of the beaste,

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "superfluous, bad".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "it is".

[3] Annotatio D. Paludani.

[4] *I.e.*, Arabic, *al-misk.*—[B.]

[5] Orig. Dutch: "brused by beating".

[6] Orig. Dutch: "on all sides".

[7] This is also stated (? copied) by Fr. Philippus a SS^mo. Trinitate, in his *Itinerarium Orientale* (1649), p. 287: "tunc carnes conscissae et sanguis in bursis villosis ex ejus pelle confectis, quas Lusitani *papos* vocant reclusi et putrefacti odoriferam musci materiam praebent."—[B.]

[8] Hence the name of musk, the original word being Sanskrit, "mushka", testicles, scrotum.—[K.]

[9] Orig. Dutch: "Chynen" (Chinese).

therewith to deceive the people, and so the sooner to procure them to buy it. This beast hath a [very] strange nature, and [great] understanding, for when it is chased, and perceiveth it selfe not able anie longer to continue in breath, it taketh the stones betweene the teeth and biteth them off and so casteth them away, as if it would say, if you come for them there they are, & while the huntsman is busie to look for them, shee oftentimes escapeth away and saveth her life. The Chinaes are very deceitfull in selling of Mosseliat [or Muske,] for they falsifie it verie much, sometimes with Oxen and Cowes livers, dried and beaten to powder, and so mixed with the Mosseliat; as it is dayly found by experience in searching of it. When the Mosseliat beginneth to decay and looseth the smel, they take it out of the purse and beate it [verie] small in a morter, and that done being moistned with the urine of a childe, and so put into an earthen pot that is leaded[1] and cloase stopped, it will presently be good againe, if there were any goodnes or strength left within it.

Some are of opinion, that muske groweth at certaine times of the yeare about the navell of a certaine beast, [as if it were swolne].[2] *The pale yellow is the best, it strengtheneth the trembling cold hart, & all diseases of the same, beeing drunke or swallowed. It cleanseth the white spots of the eyes, it dryeth moist catharres, it comforteth the head, & healeth the old aches thereof, proceeding of fleame.*[3]

Algalia[4] or Civet[5] is much found in India, that is to say in Bengala, but because they cannot leave their villanie & falsifying thereof, it is not so much esteemed, by reason they

[1] Orig. Dutch: "a little leaden pot".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "in the manner of a tumour". Dr. Paludanus was better informed on this point than Linschoten.

[3] Annotatio D. Paludani.

[4] From the Arabic, "al-gāliyah".—[B.]

[5] "Civet" is also from the Arabic, *zabad* or *zabadah* (see Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, pp. 31-32).—[B.]

mixe it,[1] but the best Civet commeth from Myna in the coast of Guynea, which is very faire and good. It is the sweat that proceedeth from the Cats called Civet Cats, which are many times brought over alive, both into Spaine, and also to these countries, but because it is so sufficiently knowne [unto us,] I will leave to speake thereof, and proceede to other spices, hearbes, and drugges of India.

Civet groweth in the outermost part of the coddes of a certaine beast, which therof hath her name, [& is called] a Muscat,[2] and as Hughin[3] very well saith, is the[4] sweat that groweth [or ingendreth] in the hinder part of the beast, [and is] hotte and moist;[5] being laid upon a womans navill, it healeth the rising of the mother, and maketh women apt to leacherie.[6]

The 71. Chapter.

Of Benioin.

Benioin[7] is a [kinde of] stuffe, like Frankemsence & Mir, but more esteemed, for it serveth for manie medicines and other thinges.

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "always with oil".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "civet-cat".
[3] Read: Huygen (Linschoten).
[4] Orig. Dutch: "like".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "of hot and moist power".
[6] Annotatio D. Paludani.
[7] Orig. Dutch: "Benjuin", *i.e.*, the Port. "beijoim" or "beijuim" (Sp. "benjui" and "menjui"; Ital. "belzuino" and "belgiuno"; Fr. "benjoin"; English (by perverse attempt to give a meaning) "benjamin", and more correctly, benzoin. "Ainsi que l'ont observé dernièrement M. van der Tuuk et M. Veth, la veritable étymologie de ce mot a déjà été donnée par Valentijn (*Beschrijving van groot Java*, p. 17), qui le dérive de *lubān jāwī* (Ar.), littéralement *encens javanais*, c'est-à-dire, encens de Sumatra, car on sait que les Arabes donnaient à cette dernière île le nom de Java, et que c'est elle qui produit le benjoin le plus blanc et le plus beau. Tel est en effet le nom que le benjoin porte chez Ibn-Batouta (iv, 228). Selon Valentijn, les Portugais dans les Indes Orien-

Benioin by reason of the sweet smell, comforteth the heart, the head, and the braine, it clenseth the head from all superfluous humors, sharpneth the wit; heeing smelled unto, it is good to be used when diseases begin to goe away.[1]

As when they make balles or peeces of Amber, and Muske, they must alwaies have Benioin with it to make it perfect, it groweth much in the kingdome of Syan, in the Iland of Sumatra, in the Islands of Iavas, & the countrie of Malacca, they are high trees full of branches, with leaves like lemmon tree [leaves,] with a thicke & high stemme or stock [in the middle,] from whence proceedeth the Gumme which is the Benioin. When the tree is young, then it yeeldeth the best Benioin, which is blackish of colour, and of a [very] sweet smell, and is called Benioin, de Boninas,[2] that is to say,

tale ont fait de *lubān jāwī*, en supprimant la première syllable, *benzawi*, et plus tard, benzoin", etc. (Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 239). The final *-n* is the usual Portuguese nasal, which they added to all words they adopted which ended in a vowel, *e.g.*, in Cochin, and similar names, and in this case after 1563, as de Orta terms the gum *benjuy*. Cfr. V. Reinhardstoettner's *Port. Grammatik*, p. 103, that this is a peculiarity of the Portuguese language.

Valentijn must have got his information (indirectly?) from Garcia de Orta's *Colloquios* (1563), who speaks of this gum (f. 31*b*), that: "The the Moors call it *louanjaoy*, that is, *Java incense*, because the Arabs were first acquainted with that country; for the Arabs call incense *louan*", and this is copied by V. Linschoten a little further down.

Varthema (1510) had long before stated that this gum was brought from Sumatra, and so it is stated in the *Historia* of G. de Mendoça, in the part containing the *Itinerario* (p. 364=ii, 320). The Spanish has: "benxui in great quantity". Parke's translation has: "beniewyn of Boninas, in great quantity." The little botanical dictionary of 1548 (*De Latinis et Græcis nominibus arborum ..... liber*) identifies it with *Laxerpitium*, or σίλθιον (p. 66), and adds: "Benioin. Hodie e Taprobana maris Indici insula omnium maxima, ut ait Ludovicus Romanus patricius (*i.e.*, Varthema), convehitur præstantissimum."—[B.]

[1] This passage is in different type in the original Dutch, the Latin of 1599, and the English, but only the last (in the margin) ascribes it to Dr. Paludanus.—[B.]

[2] "Boninas", usually translated "daisy", but is the flower of quite a different wild plant in Portugal.—[B.]

Benioin of the Flowers, because of the perfect smell. The second Benioin is called Benioin Amendoado, that is Benioin of Almondes, because it is mixed with peeces of white Benioin among the blacke, like to Almondes that are cut in peeces. This Benioin is not so good, because the white Benioin is of the old trees, and is not so strong nor of so good a smell as the blacke, but is mixed with the blacke, because it should be sold the better. These two sortes of Benioin are the best, and much [used and] caried into Arabia, Persia, the land of Ballagate, China, and other places, as also into Portingal. Most part of this Benioin groweth in the country of Sion,[1] and by Malacca, there is other Benioin which is worse and groweth in the Ilandes of Sumatra, and Iavas. The inhabitants of the countries where it groweth call it Comingion,[2] the Mores, and Arabians call it Lovaniavy[3] (which is as much to say as frankensence of Iava). The Decaniins and Ballagaters call it Udo,[4] they cut the tree and branches full of slits, to make the Benioin the better to come foorth,[5] it is much trafficqued withall throughout India, for it is one of the costliest drugges in all the Orient, because it excelleth all other in sweetnes.[6]

[1] Pallegoix mentions benzoin as a product of Siam (*Description de Siam*, i, p. 144), which is an article of trade.—[B.]

[2] De Orta (*u. s.*, f. 3*b*) says *Cominham*. This is the Malay name—*Kaminian*. This name is given also by Eredia; see below, *note*.

[3] *Lovaniàvy*. See above, p. 97, *note*.

[4] This is also from de Orta (*u. s.*, 3*b*).—[B.] *Udo* is a Prākrit form of Sanskrit "vṛddha".—[K.]

[5] Eredia (f. 15*b*) has: "Eo Bej uim, chamado Caminham, he outra arvore alta e grossa, e a goma ou lycor, que por las fendas e aberturas da casca, arebenta e brota, chamamos Bejuim"; *i.e.*, The Bejuim, called Caminham, is another tall and big tree, and the gum or juice which issues and drops by incisions and openings of the bark, we call (it) Bejuim.—[B.]

[6] Orig. Dutch: "for it surpasses all other incenses in odour". Benzoin is a gum exuded in drops from incisions in the bark of the *Styrax benzoin*, and is used in medicine as a stimulant, expectorant, and styptic. See Flückiger and Hanbury's *Pharmacographia*. It is now imported from Siam, Sumatra, Java, etc.—[B.]

THE 72. CHAPTER.

Of Frankensence and Mirre.

Frankinsence groweth in Arabia, and is called Louan,[1] and by Avicenna Conder:[2] it is the gumme that floweth out of the bodies of the trees, like Benioin: the best Frankinsence growth upon the trees that stande on hilles [and] stony rockes, and stony places: for those which growe in the fieldes and in flat grounds yeeld not so good Frankinsence: they have so great quantitie of it, that oftentimes they marke their sheepe withall, as if it were Pitch, Tarre, or Rosin: from thence it is carried into India, China, and other places in great abundance, and very good cheape.

Frankinsence is of two sorts, one white, that is round and like unto drops, which is the best, and called the masle: the other blacke, which is not much worth but only in smell. In India and with us they use Frankinsence against the loosenes of the bellie, sicknesses of the head, Catarrhes, surfeits, and par-braking, & [is good] for such as spit blood, it filleth up hollow swellings[3] *& healeth fresh and bloody wounds.*[4]

Mirre by the Indians is called Bola,[5] it groweth in the same[6] that Benioin and frankinsence doth, and commeth also out of Arabia Felix, but most out of the countrie of Abexin from the inward parts of the countrie, [lying] betweene Mosambique, and the red sea, which is called Prester Johns land, and from thence brought into India, and other places.

[1] Read: lobân.
[2] Read: kondor.
[3] Orig. Dutch: "it destroys hollow ulcerations".
[4] Annotatio D. Paludani.
[5] Also in Sanskrit, "bola".—[K.]
[6] Orig. Dutch: "same manner".

Mirre is used in medicines, to drive downe the Flowers and the fruits of women, also for old coughes, for laskes, & for bloody Flixes.[1]

The 73. Chapter.

Of Mannan and Rhubarbe.

Manna commeth out of Arabia, and Persia, but most out of the Province of Usbeke,[2] lying behind Persia in Tartaria: the Manna yt is brought from thence in glasse Vialles, is in peeces as bigge as preserved Almonds, but of another fashion, and have no other speciall form, but like broken peeces: it is whitish, and of taste almost like sugar, but somewhat fulsome sweetish like hony: the Persians cal it Xercast, and Xerkest, that is to say, milke of trees, for it is the dew yt falleth upon the trees, and remayneth hanging upon the leaves, like water that is frozen and hangeth in drops at gutters and pentises: It is also[3] gathered and kept in glasse Vials, and so brought into India, and other Countries, for in India they use it much in all sorts of purgations. There is another sorte of Manna called Tiriamiabiin or Trumgibiin,[4] which they gather from other leaves and hearbes: that commeth in small peeces as big as Hempeséed, and somewhat bigger, which is red & of a reddish colour. Some thinke this Manna groweth on the bodies of the trees as Gumme doth: it is much used in Ormus and Persia for purgations, but not in India so much as the first sort, there is yet another sorte, which commeth in great peeces, with the leaves among it: it is like the Manna of Calabria, this is brought out of Persia unto Bassora, and so to Ormus and [from thence into] India,

[1] Annotatio D. Paludani.

[2] The Usbeks, a Turkish tribe, were, since the thirteenth century, masters of the so-called "Tartary", or Turkestân.

[3] Orig. Dutch: "then".

[4] *Shūrkhisht* and *Taranjubīn* are Persian words for two different kinds of manna.

and is the dearest of all the rest. There commeth also a Manna [that is brought] in leather bags, or flasks, which in Turkey and Persia they use to ride[1] withall & is melted like Hony, but of a white colour, and in taste like the other sortes of Manna, being altogether used for purgations, and other medicines.

Manna very gently purgeth the gall: it easeth and moystneth[2] *the harshnes of the throat, the breast[es] and the stomache: it quencheth the thirst: but because it purgeth but weakely, it is strengthened with Tyme or Isop mingled with some strong purgations, & maketh them to effect their operations with more perfection and power, by meanes of the sweetnesse thereof, which is apter*[3] *[and more plyable] unto nature.*[4]

But because it is no special marchandise, I will speake no more thereof, but that wee are nowe in hande with medicines to purge, I wil say some thing of the roote called Rhubarbe, although there is no certantie how, or in what sort it groweth, yet it is most certaine, yt it is not to be found in any country but in China, and in the farthest parts therof,[5] it is most brought by land through the Province of Usbeke, whereof I spake before: which Province lyeth in Tartaria, and bordereth on the one side upon China, and so reacheth behinde India unto Persia. Out of this Province it cometh unto Ormus, and from thence into India: yet it is likewise brought by water, but because it is not so good, and doth sooner rot and spoyle by water then by land, therefore most part of it is brought by land[. That] which is most esteemed & best sold, and greatliest desired, [cometh] in this manner, that is [first] from China, through Usbeke, and so through Turkie, [from whence] it is caryed to Venice, & from thence into all

[1] Orig. Dutch: "to travel".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "lenifies".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "more agreeable".
[4] Annotatio D. Paludani.
[5] Orig. Dutch: "in the inner country".

these countries, so that the Rhubarbe of Venice is better, because it cometh over land, then that which is brought into Portingall, [because it cometh] by water, as also all thinges and herbes that belong to Physicke, because they are better preserved by land then by water,[1] they are little brought by sea, but it is a marchandise that is most caryed by land unto Venice, as also because the Portingales deale not much therein,[2] and are little given to curiosities,[3] contenting themselves to deale with such wares as are commonlie knowne to all men, without seeking[4] further, for they trouble not[5] themselves with other things.

The 74. Chapter.

Of the wood called Sanders.

There are 3 sorts of Sanders,[6] that is, white, yelow, and red: the white and the yealow, which is the best, come most out of the Iland of Tymor,[7] which lyeth by Iava. This Iland hath whole woods and wildernesses of Sanders, both of white and yealow, and from thence it is caryed throughout all India, and other countries, and trafficke much therewith: the red Sanders groweth most in the coast of Choramandel and Tanassariin, which is in the countrie of Pegu: the trees of Sanders are like Nut trees, and have a certaine fruite [upon them] like Cheries, at the first green, and after black, but of no taste nor any thing worth, for it presently falleth

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "for which reason".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "are not much versed therein".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "have not much curiosity (of mind)".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "pretending".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "little".
[6] *I.e.*, Sandal.
[7] Timor and surrounding islands, whereof one bears the name of Chendana (Malay for Sandal) or Sumba.

off, onlie ye wood of ye tree is accounted of, which is the Sanders. It is called by the Inhabitants of the country where it groweth Chandanacon,[1] the Decaniins, Gusurates, Canariins, and other Indians cal it Sercandaa:[2] the Arabians and Persians Sandal, whereupon the Portingalles likewise doe call it Sandalo. The yellow and white Sanders is much used and spent over all India, by all the inhabitantes, both [Indians,] Moors, Heathens, and Iewes, whatsoever: they heate[3] it or stampe it in water, till it be as soft as pappe, that done they besmere themselves therewith, and let it drie upon their bodies, for it cooleth very much, & also because all the Indians doe much delight in sweet smelling savours.

The white & yellow or bleakish Sanders is likewise used by us, with Rosewater, against the hotte paines in the head, annointing it therewith: all those woods as well the red as the white and the yellow, are good against hotte feavers, being beaten and drunken [into the body], they help the hot stomacke, as also laid upon [the stomacke] with Rose water, in burning feavers. This Sanders is not onely good for the purposes aforesaid,[4] but also for strengthening[5] the hart, and therefore with great use[6] it is put into Cordiall medicines, & such as are made against the beating of the hart.[7]

The red Sanders is little spent in India, but they use it onely against hot agues, annointing their pulses therewith, as also the temples, & their foreheads, but it is much caryed into other countries, as being very medicinable for many thinges, and the Indians make their Pagodes and Idoles thereof, because they should be the costlier.

[1] This looks as if it were Malayālam, "c'andanakkunnu", which, however, does not mean sandal, but a hill of sandal trees.—[K.]

[2] The original Sanskrit word is "çrīkhand".—[K.]

[3] Orig. Dutch: "grind". Probably the word was written "beate".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "for strengthening".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "for rejoicing".

[6] Orig. Dutch: "advantage".

[7] Annotatio D. Paludani.

The 75. Chapter.

Of Palo de Cebra or Snakewood.

Snakewood is most in the Island of Seylon: it is a lowe Tree: the roote thereof [being] the Snake-woode is of colour white, shewing somewhat yellowe, very harde and bitter in taste, it is much used in India: they [stampe and] bruse[1] it like Sanders, in water or Wine, and so drinke it, it is very good & well proved against all burning feavers: one ounce thereof bruised and mixed with water is good against all poison and sicknes, as the collick, worms, and all filthie humors and coldnes in the body, and specially against the stinging of Snakes, whereof it hath the name: it was first found by means of a little beast called Quil, or Quirpele,[2] which is of bignesse very like a Ferret (wherewith in those Countries they use to drive Cunnies out of their holes, and so ketch them) whereof in India they have many in their houses [which they play withall] to passe the time away, as also to kill their Myce and Rattes, and to drive them away. This beast by nature is a great enemie to the Snake, so that wheresoever she findeth any, she fighteth with them; and because it is often bitten by the Snake, it knoweth how to heale it selfe with this Snake-woode (whereof there is much in Seylon, where also are [many of] those beastes, and great store of Snakes) so that if it be never so sore bitten, having eaten of this wood, it is presently healed, as if it had never beene hurt. By this means the inhabitants have found it out, & begun to make account of it, & [since that time] it is proved and found to be good for many diseases as aforesaid: wherefore nowe it is much traffiqued withall, and carryed into all countries as also into Portingall, & from thence hether.

[1] Orig. Dutch: "grind".

[2] *I.e.*, "*kīri, kīrippillei*", the Tamil name of the mongoose.—[K.]

Garcius ab horto writeth of three sorts of the wood, whereof you may there reade: two of these sortes of Snake-wood I have in my house to be shewen, one is that which John Hughen writeth to bee the root of a tree, white and bitter of taste, with a rough Ash coloured barke: the other was sent me out of Sivill,[1] *from the learned Doctor Simon van Tonar,*[2] *which is as thicke as a mans arme, with a barke, besprinckled & spotted like a Snake, [which] inwardlie [is] white, and bitter of taste.*

THE 76. CHAPTER.

Of the wood Calamba or Lignum Aloes.

The Lignum Aloes, which in India is called Calamba,[3] and Palo D'aguilla, is most in Malacca, in the Islande of Sumatra, Camboia, Sion, and the Countries bordering on the same: the trees are like Olive trees, and somewhat greater: when it is cut off, it smelleth not so well, because it is greene, for the dryer it is, the better it smelleth: the best and that which smelleth most, is the innermost part of the wood: some of it is better then the rest, which the Indians doe presently knowe howe to finde out: the best and finest is called Calamba, and ye other Palo Daguilla.[4] Now to know

[1] Seville.

[2] Read: Simon de Tovar. He wrote, among other works, *De Compositorum Medicamentorum Examine Nova Methodus* (Antverpiae Offic. Plantin., 1586); *Hispalensium Pharmacopoliorum Recognitio* (Hispali, 1587).

[3] *I.e.*, a Malay name—Kulambak. *a.* Aquilaria Agallocha Rxb.; *b.* Aloëxylon Agallochum Lour. (Filet, *Plantkundig Woordenboek voor Nederl. India*, p. 145). "In Latin, *Lignum Aloës* is used in the Bible and in many ancient writings to designate a substance totally distinct from the modern *Aloes*, namely, the resinous wood of *Aquilaria Agallocha* Rxb., a drug which was once generally valued for use in incense, but now esteemed only in the East" (Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, note 1 on p. 616).—[B.]

[4] From Malayālam, "agil". –[K.]

which is the best, you must understand that the wood that is [very] heavie with black and brown veynes, and which yeeldeth much Oyle or moystnésse (which is founde by the fire) is the best, and the greater and thicker that it is, the better it is and hath the more vertue. Of this wood they make many costly thinges, and it hath a speciall and precious smell, [so that it] is greatly esteemed: specially the Calamba, which if it be good, is[1] solde by weight against silver and gold. The Palo Daguilla next after the Calamba is much accounted of. There is another kind of Palo Daguilla, which is called Aguilla Braua, or wild Aquilla, and is also much esteemed: for the Indians use it therewith to burne the bodies of their Bramenes, and [other] men of account, when they are dead: [and] because it is costly [therefore] it is a great honour to those that are burnt therewith, as it is to those that with us are buried in Tombes of marble stones: but it is not comparable to the other Palo Daguilla, nor the Calamba. The wilde Aguilla groweth most in the Island of Seylon, and on the coast of Choramandel, and the best Palo Daguilla, and Calamba groweth in Malacca.[2] These costly woods are much used in India for Beades,[3] and Crucifixes, which are holden in great reverence, and in truth is [very much] to be esteemed, for without all doubt it hath an excellent smel, which surpasseth all other woods, and the like can not bee founde but onely in the foresaide places [from whence it commeth].

Lignum Aloes, Agallochum Xylo, alias Paradise-woode, by the Arabians called Agalugen and Haud, by the inhabitantes of Gusurate and Decan, Ud in Malacca, Garro,[4] and the best Calamba. Of this wood I have many sortes, all very plea-

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "oftentimes".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "by de landen van Malacca" (near the lands of M.).

[3] Orig. Dutch: (add) "Vyftighen", *i.e.*, "fifties", also a sort of beads. See Du Cange, in v. "quinquagenerium: series sacrorum globulorum a quinquies denario numero sic dicta, Gall. chapelet".

[4] Read: Garu (Malay).

sant of smell, speckled with veines and full of moysture,[1] *and withall close and [very] heavie: this wood being taken inwardly, is good for a stinking breath: it is also very good against a watrish*[2] *and moyst stomacke, which can receyve no meate, but casteth it forth: it is also good for one that hath a weake liver, that is sick of the red Melison, or of the Plurisie.*[3]

THE 77. CHAPTER.

Of the root China.

The root China came into India, and was there first knowne[4] in Anno 1535,[4] for before that time they knewe it not, for that as then they cured the Poxe, (which in India is a common disease), with the woode called Guaiacum, that is brought out of the Spanish Indies, and was at that time in a manner[5] weyghed against Gold: and as the land of China, is much subiect to the disease of the Poxe,[6] it seemeth that God hath given them this roote to cure and help the same, and since it was knowne [and found out] in India they would never use any other remedy, because there is great store of it, and[7] the best in all the world, wherby men in those countries doe not once make any account of the Poxe, [or feare the healing therof,] for that it is more easilier healed then any other disease: also it is no shame with them, although they have had it at ye least 3. or 4. times: this root is now with them[8] in so great abundance, and common use, that it is very

[1] Orig. Dutch: "fattiness".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "lax".

[3] Annotatio D. Paludani.

[4] Brought by Chinese (G. de Orta, *Colloquios*, f. 177*b*).—[B.]

[5] Orig. Dutch: "almost".

[6] It is now known to have existed in China long before it was known in Europe, *i.e.*, a little before 1500.—[B.]

[7] Orig. Dutch: "because they thrive on it, as it is also".

[8] Orig. Dutch: "brought unto them".

good cheape, for that it is not worth at the most above halfe a Pardaw the pound, which in Portingall money is a Teston and a halfe. The sicke persons doe use it in this manner following, they take [of] the roote, & cut it in small peeces or slyces, the wayght of an ounce, which they seeth in foure pottes or quartes of water, letting it seeth till it be halfe consumed, whereof[1] they seeth fresh every day: this water they must drink alone, & eat bisket with nothing els but smal rosted Chickens, without any Butter, suet, salt, or any [other] sauce, but onely drie with the Bisket, and this must bee their dinner, at night some Reasons, and tosted breade with Hony and nothing els: every day twice they must lie [on their beddes] wel covered to make them[2] sweat, every time an hower, or an hower and a halfe, which they must continue for the space of thirtie dayes, alwaies keeping themselves out of the ayre, and from the wind, and lapping their heads and their ears very close, staying continually within the house, and above all things abstayning from the carnell company of women. These pointes aforesaid being observed, without [all] doubt they shall find [great] profite: and if the roote doth worke within them, they shall know it by this meanes, for that the paine in their lims, and specially in their ioynts will grieve them more and more, which is a good signe that it worketh in their bodies, and thoroughly searcheth the same, and this paine will still increase for the space of 15 or 20 dayes, yea and sometimes untill 25. dayes, and therefore he that will use it must not despaire, for without faile it wil be so as I have said, within a day, two, or three more or lesse. The 25 dayes at the furthest being passed, then their paine will begin to deminish, with so great a lightnes [and ease], that within the other five dayes, whereby the 30 dayes will bee accomplished, the whole paine will be gone, so that the body and all the members will be as fresh and

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and this".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "and do all things possible to".

lively as if they never had beene sicke, having used this rule aforesaid. And although the roote China being sodden in the water,[1] causeth a great appetite and a hungry stomacke, neverthelesse they must in any sorte beware that they eate but little, and with measure, & that according to the rule prescribed: for if they break it but one day, nay but one houre, all their labour were lost, and so they must be forced to begin their diet again. It must likewise bee understood that the older and longer of continuance the pockes are, so much the sooner will the roote heale them, as also the older the persons [to be healed] are [of yeares,] because that then the humors are not so ripe[2] [as in young yeares.] When the 30 dayes are expired, they must beware of drinking other drinke, and to that end they must keepe the peeces and slices that were cut and sodden as before, every ounce by it selfe, and [therof] take every day a heape of the same roote so sodden,[3] and seeth them againe in a pot with as much water as they shall[4] need to drinke: but this seething need not be done as the first [seething], with[5] consumption [of the water], but only let it seeth up once [and no more]. This water must they drinke in this sorte for the space of 20. or 30. dayes more, and beware of fish, or any goose or heavie meates, as Oxe, Cow, or Hogges flesh, and such like, as also they must keepe themselves from [much] aire or winde, whereby their bodies [beeing healed] may returne to their perfect healthes againe, and after these twenty or thirty dayes are [full] expired, then they must[6] begin to use all kinde of meates and drinkes, although when the first thirtie dayes are out, they may well goe abroad, so they bee carefull of themselves, and they shall not neede to sweate any more

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and the water thereof being sodden".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "are less".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "one of the said heaps or ounces of sodden root".
[4] Orig. Dutch: (add) "daily".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "with any".
[6] Orig. Dutch: "they may again by little and little".

after the said first thirty dayes: also it must bee remembred, that such as meane to take this diet, for their healthes,[1] it will bee good before they use it,[2] to take a good purgation, & when the first fifteene dayes are out, [then take] a second, and so at the end of the thirtie day another, whereby it will worke with more effect, and with Gods help they shall be as lustie and sound as ever they were, as it hath beene proved by many thousandes in India. This roote is not onely good for the Pockes and Piles, but also for cramps [and palsies,][3] and all cold diseases, as [for] limmes that are stiffe and benummed with cold, for the Gout: for the Emperor Charles the fift himselfe did use the same, and found that it did him good: But it must bee understood that it is not good to use it at all times of the yeare, for in the dogge dayes, and also in Summer, by reason of the heat it is not good, neyther in winter because of the cold; but it is best to[4] be used in Lent and Harvest time: for then it is most temperate weather,[5] yet alwaies with the councell of the learned Phisition, the better to know the disposition, complection, inclination and age of the persons, [together with] the time of the yeare, the situation and climate of the countrie. The manner [of healing] aforesaid is as it is used in India: but in China which is a colder countrey, and almost under the same degrees that these Countries are under, they use to seeth the water stronger, for there they put 2. ounces or an ounce and a halfe of the wood into so much water[6], and let it seeth untill the water be two partes[7] consumed, which in India

[1] Orig. Dutch: "as mean to make use of this remedy".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "before they make a beginning".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "voor alle gichten...ende 't Flerecijn." Now "gichte" is gout, but as Linschoten mentions also the "flerecijn", another name for the gout, it appears that he means rheumatisms.

[4] Orig. Dutch: "it must".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "it is the best time".

[6] Orig. Dutch: "into four quarts of water".

[7] Orig. Dutch: "two-thirds".

will not bee borne because of the greate heate. It is likewise to be understood, that the person and the disease of the person must be well considered: for that if the sicknes bee not very great, they must take lesse roote, and let lesse water consume in the seething, the younger persons also must have stronger drinke then old folkes, because they have more humors [in their bodies]: And yee must consider, that hee which will [take or] use this roote, or the water thereof not beeing sicke, it will waste and consume his flesh and good blood,[1] and doe himselfe great hurt, wherfore good counsell [and advise] must alwaies be taken before it be used, and [also] if it bee taken too hotte, and too much, it burneth both the liver and the lunges, and will fill the body full of pyles,[2] scurffe, and mangies, with other such like diseases, whereby a man shall[3] have worke enough to drive those new diseases out of the body, and fall out of one sicknes into another, & rather [become] worse then [hee was at] the first. This I thought good in briefe to shew you, thereby to teach such as knowe it not, the true use of this roote if it bee done in time, & [when neede requireth]:[4] for that many doe spende their wealthes, and which is more, are all their lives long out of hope for ever to recover their healthes againe [upon a disease,] which with so little cost, is so easilie to be cured. The summe[5] of the foresaid water is likewise good against all scabbes and swellings of the said Morbo Neapolitano, or ye French pockes, the best rootes are the blackest,[6] with few knots and white within: for the reddish are not so good; the wood or tree wherof it groweth is like a Haw-thorne, straight, and about three or foure spannes high, & the roote thereof is called the wood of China, or Pockewood; when

[1] Orig. Dutch: "good blood and flesh".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "bloedzweeren" (furuncles).
[3] Orig. Dutch: "should".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "with intelligence".
[5] Read: "scumme".
[6] Orig. Dutch: "heaviest".

they are greene they eate them raw, and being sodden they taste almost like suger canes but not so sweet. The tree hath but few leaves, but they are almost like the leaves of a young Orange tree. These plantes or trees in China are called Lampaton, as the Chinos themselves doe say. This shall suffice for this root of China so called, because it is found in no place but in China, what is more to be saïd of it, I leave unto the learned Phisitions, & others that deale withall and have better experience thereof.

The roote of China is commonlie used among the Egyptians, not onelie for the pockes, but for many other diseases, specially for a consumption, for the which they seeth the roote China in broth of a henne or cocke,[1] *whereby they become whole*[2] *and faire of face.*

This roote drieth much and cooleth[3] *sweate, it resisteth evill humors, and strengthneth the liver, it healeth watery*[4] *and filthie Ulcers, and scurffes & Leprie. It is good for a man that hath the pockes, and for those that are dried up, and medicinable against a hard and a great milt.*[5]

The 78. Chapter.

Of Amfion, alias Opium.

Amfion,[6] so called by the Portingales, is by the Arabians, Mores, and Indians called Affion, in latine Opio or opium:

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and give such decoctum many days".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "wholly fat".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "drives out".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "het water" (dropsy).

[5] Annotatio D. Paludani.

[6] "Amfion" (properly "anfião") is a corruption of the Arabic name "afiyūn", which the Portuguese picked up in India, and transmitted to the Dutch—"amfioen" (Dozy). But the Arabic "afiyūn" is again a corruption of the Greek ὄπιον, which is mentioned by Dioscorides (iv, 55). The Arabs got this word from the Greek writers on medicine (*e.g.*, Galen), as Garcia de Orta (*Colloquios*, f. 154*b*) has stated.—[B.]

[It] commeth out of Cairo in Egypt, [and] out of Aden, upon the coast of Arabia, which is the point of the [land, entring into] the red Sea, sometimes belonging to the Portingales; but most part out of Cambaia, & from Decan, that of Cairo is whitish, and is called Mecerii,[1] that of Aden and the places bordering upon the mouth of the red sea, is blackish & hard. That which commeth from Cambaia and Decan is softer and reddish. Amfion is made of sleepe balles[2] [or Poppie], and is the gumme which commeth forth [of the same], to ye which end it is cut up and opened. The Indians use much to eat Amfion,[3] specially the Malabares, and thether it is brought by those of Cambaia and other places, in great aboundance. Hee that useth to eate it, must eate it daylie, otherwise he dieth and consumeth himselfe, [when] they begin to eate it, and are used unto it,[4] [they heate at the least] twenty or thirty graines in waight [everie day], sometimes more: but if for foure or five dayes hee chanceth to leave it, he dieth without faile:[5] likewise he that hath never eaten it, and will venture at the first to eate as much as those that dayly use it, it will surely kill him: for I certainly beleeve it is a kinde of poyson. Such as use it goe alwaies [as if they were] halfe a sleepe, they eate much of it because

[1] *I.e.*, Arabic, "misrī"=Egyptian.—[B.]

[2] Orig Dutch: "slaep-bollen", *i.e.*, poppy-heads.

[3] This is one of the earliest authentic accounts of the habit of "opium-eating". Garcia de Orta (*u. s.*, f. 153*b*) had already (1563) mentioned it, but Linschoten gives many additional details from his own observation. The practice was already known in Europe before the middle of the sixteenth century, as Fallopius († 1563) says of the Persians: "Nunc etiam Persiani comedunt opium, à pueritia incipiéntes, cum pauca quantitate; et sensim ac sensim quantitatem augentes, donec assueverint multæ opii quantitati; idque faciunt, ut promptiores sint ad coitum, quoniam opium maxime ad hoc conducit." (Frankfurt coll. ed. of his works, 1606. p. 33.)—[B.]

[4] Orig. Dutch: "they begin by little and little to eat it, and when they are used to it they eat it daily".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "if ..... he should want it, then he would die".

they would not feele any [great] labour or unquietnes [when they are at worke], but they use it most for lecherie: for it maketh a man to hold his seede long before he sheddeth it, which the Indian women much desire, that they may shed their nature likewise with the man: although such as eate much thereof, are in time altogether unable to company with a woman, & whollie dried up, for it drieth and wholly cooleth mans nature that useth it, as the Indians themselves doe witnes: wherefore it is not much used by the Nobilitie,[1] but onely for the cause aforesaid.

Opium is the iuice of blacke Poppie,[2] *and is of two sortes, one sweet beeing pressed out of the leaves and heads together, which the Grecks call Meconium: the other floweth* [*or commeth*] *out of the heads being cut,*[3] *which is the right Opium. That which is heavy, close, fast and bitter in taste, that which with the smell of it provoketh sleepe, & that which easily melteth in the water* [*and is*] *soft, white, and without grossenes or kernels, is the best Opium, and is by the Turkes called Maslac. They eate thereof daylie the quantitie of a pease, not thereby to provoke sleepe, but to give them courage, specially when they goe to war, thinking that thereby they are made more couragious, and that when they sleepe* [*they dreame that*] *they see many pleasant places, and are in company of* [*divers*] *goodly women: although it is commonly seene, that such as dayly use Opium, are* [*very*] *still*[4] *and sleepie, and* [*very*] *slow*[5] *both in wordes and workes, so that men know not how*[6] *to deale with them.*[7]

[1] Orig. Dutch: "great gentlemen".....
[2] Orig. Dutch: "swerte Heulbollen" *i.e.*, black poppy-heads.
[3] Orig. Dutch: "cut a little".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "become stupid".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "changeable".
[6] Orig. Dutch: "so that it is difficult".
[7] Note by Dr. Paludanus.

The 79. Chapter.

Of Bangue.

Bangue[1] is also a common meate in India, serving to the same effect that Amfion doth. It is a seed like Hempe-seede, but somewhat smaller and not so white. Also the thing whereon it groweth is like Hempe, but it hath no substance[2] whereof to make any thing. The Indians eate this seede or the leaves thereof being stamped, saying, that it maketh a good appetite, but useth most to provoke lust; as it is commonly used and sold in the shops, it is mingled with some poulder of the leaves and the seede together:[3] They likewise put greene Arecca unto it, therewith to make a man drunke or in a manner out of his wits: Sometimes also they mixe it with Nutmegs and Mace, which doth also make a man drunke: Others (that is to saye, the rich and welthy persons) mix it with Cloves, Camphora, Ambar, Muske, and Opium,[4] which (as the Moores likewise affirme) maketh a man pleasant, and forgetting [himselfe], performing all [kind of] labour and toyle without once thinking of any paine: but onely laughing, playing,[5] and sleeping quietly. The common women [or whores] use it when they meane to have a mans companie, [thereby] to be [lively and] merrie, and to set all care aside. It was first invented by[6] Captaines and souldiers, when they had layne long in the field, continually waking

[1] "*Bang*" is the Persian form of the name, and the Europeans have got it thence through the Portuguese *bango*; the Arabic form is *banj*. —[B.] The Sanskrit form is "bhangā", already known in the time of Pânini (V, 2, 4).—[K.]

[2] Orig. Dutch: "schillen" (peels).

[3] Orig. Dutch: "it is mingled, namely: the powder of the leaves and any of the seed".

[4] *I.e.*, the conserve ma'jūn.—[B.]

[5] Orig. Dutch: "boerden" (yoking).

[6] Orig. Dutch: (add) "the great".

and with great travell, [which] they desiring [to remedie and] againe to comfort themselves, thereby to settle their braines[1] doe use Bangue, in such manner as is aforesaid. It causeth such as eate it, to reele[2] and looke as if they were drunke, and halfe foolish, doing nothing but laugh and bee merrie, as long as it worketh in their bodies. It is verie much used by the Indians, and likewise by some Portingales, but most by the slaves thereby to forget their labour:[3] to conclude it is a [certaine] small comfort[4] to [a] melancholy [person].

Bangue is likewise much used in Turkie and Ægypt, and is made in three sorts, having also three severall names. The first by the Ægyptians is called Assis,[5] *which is the poulder of Hemp, or of Hemp leaves, which water made in paste or dough, whereof they eate five*[6] *peeces, [each] as bigge as a Chesnut [and some more]; such as eate it, for an howre after, are as if they were drunke, without sence, and as it were besides themselves, thinking they see many strange sights, wherein they are much pleased. This is used by the common people, because it is of a small price, and it is no wonder, that such vertue proceedeth from the Hempe, for that according to Galens opinion, Hempe excessively filleth the head. The second they name Bosa,*[7] *which is stronger than Assis: It is made of the meale of Lolium, by us called Dronkardes weede or Hearbe,*[8] *and of the Hempseede with water as aforesaid: others presse out the iuice, and eat that. The thirde is called Bernavi,*[9] *which is the right Bangue, which they have readie dressed out of India (as Hughen writeth) whereof they take about an ounce, & at the first are merie, talking much &*

[1] Orig. Dutch: "setting aside all fantasies".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "schuymen" (scum).
[3] Orig. Dutch: (add) "and slavery".
[4] Orig. Dutch: (add) "and remedy against'
[5] Hashîsh (Arab.).
[6] Orig. Dutch: (add) "or more".
[7] Boza (Turk.).
[8] Orig. Dutch: "Oncruyt ofte Dronckaert" (weeds or drunkard).
[9] Bernâwî (Arab.).

singing pleasant songs, laughing without measure, and using many foolish toyes: which continueth [with them] almost an hower. After that they are in a manner furious, given to chiding and fighting, which continueth likewise a little space, that done they are possessed with heavinesse, and [a certaine kind of] feare, that many times they crie out.[1] *In the end when they have played al these parts they fall in a sleepe, and being awaked they are as they were at the first. This is much used by foolish Iesters or Inglers at feasts and banquets, to delight them.*[2] *The Ægyptians use also another sorte called Bers,*[3] *that is to say, health for an hower. It is made of white Pepper, white Bilzen seede,*[4] *of each five ounces, and of Opium, two ounces and a halfe, Spica Nardi, Euphorbium, Bertram, of each one Mitchell,*[5] *Saffran, fifteene Scruples, all beat[illegible] Marble morter, and mixed with Honnie wherof[illegible] confection.*[6]

and is the gumme which is within the middle of the tree, and by sweating and dropping commeth out [from the same]. This Camphora of Borneo, is likewise in the Iland of Sumatra, and Sunda, as also in some other places there abouts. It is of bignesse like a seede called in Portingall Milho, and with us Barley, of colour whitish. It is of foure sorts, whereunto the Indians use certaine Sives with holes purposely made in them: the first having smal holes, and that which passeth through them is the worst, the next following it is somewhat greater, and so forth after that rate, as it is said [before] of Pearles, and so it is prised accordingly. It commeth sometimes [all] spotted, with some filth[1] or foulenesse, which the Banianers of Cambaia know well how to wash away with [2] Sope, and the iuice of Lemons: [which done], they [ie] in some shadow place, whereby it is whiter [he] first, and keepeth the former waight. It [d] with other Gum or poulder of other [s] can well handle[3] all their wares. This [Camphora of Borneo yet I believe there

The 81. Chapter.

Of Tamarinio.

Tamarinio groweth in the most parts of all India, speciallie in the land of Gusurate and the North parts beyond Goa:[1] the Malabares call it Pulii:[2] the Gusurates and other Indians cal it Ambilii:[3] the Arabians, Tamarindii,[4] because Tamaras in Arabia are the same that with us we cal Dates, and because they know not what to liken Tamarinio unto, better then unto Dates, therefore they call it Tamarindi, yt. is, Tamaras or Dates of India, whereupon the Portingales cal it also Tamarinio, and the Dates which are in great abundance brought out of Persia & Arabia into India, they name them after the Arabians, Tamaras. The trees of Tamarinio are almost like unto Chesnuts or other nut trees, the branches being full of leaves, with a close & strong wood: the fruite of the Tamarinio is about a finger long, [bowing or] crooked, having greene shelles, or pilles without, and being drie are grayish, having within certaine kernels of the greatnes of a Beane, which are covered about with that which they call Tamarinio: it sticketh to mens hands (for it is like lime) & therewith they prepare all their compositions throughout India, for it hath a sowrish and sharp[5] taste, and is the best sauce in all India, like vergis[6] with us, and they never sieth Rice but they put Tamarinio into it wherewith their com-

[1] It is commonest in the dry and hot parts of India.—[B.]

[2] *I.e.*, "puli".—[B.]

[3] *I.e.*, Mahratti, etc., "āmbalī, amlī".—[K.]

[4] *I.e.*, Tamar Hindī, or Indian date (Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, p. 94; Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 347).

[5] Orig. Dutch: "rinsch" (= Rijnsch, from Rhine-wine), not sharp, but a little sourish.

[6] Orig. Dutch: "verjuys" (verjuice).

position called Cariil[1] is made,[2] as in many places it is [alreadie] declared: yet those that see it drest will have no great desire to eate it, for they crush it through their fingers, whereby it sheweth like rotten Medlers, yet it giveth the Rice & the meate a fine sharp taste. Tamarinio is likewise proved to be a very good purgation, for the poore that are of smal habilitie, and are not able to be at charges of Rhabarbo, Manna, and such like costlie Apothecaries ware, doe onelie use Tamarinio pressed out into a little water, which water being drunk fasting in a morning, is the best purgation in the world, which is to be done when the Tamarinio is ripe, or when it is greene: it is used likewise in dressing meate, to put in among their flesh in steed of Vineger, for it is much sowrer[3] then Vineger, much like green gooseberries or grapes: the Physitians use it in purgations & medecines compounded with other herbes [and spices,] and it worketh well: it is likewise salted to send for Portingal, Arabia, Persia, & other places, yet the Indians keepe it in their houses, [in the huskes,] as it commeth from the tree, and it hangeth on the trees like sheathes of knives, but that they are somewhat bowed, as I said before: there is likewise sugar conserves made therof, which is verie good. The nature of this tree[4] is to be wondered at, for that the Tamarinio, that is to say, the long [crooked] huske wherein it is, in the night time shrinketh it self up under the leaves, to cover it from the cold of the night, and in the day time it uncovereth it self again all naked and outright, as I have often seene and beheld it: when it is caryed abroad or sold, it is out of the shelles or huskes, and being put together they make balles thereof, as bigge as a mans fist, but it is clammie and sticketh to-

[1] *I.e.*, the Canarese term *Karil*, the equivalent of the Tamil *Kari*, whence our *Curry*.—[B.]

[2] Orig. Dutch: "and prepare it with their composition called Carril".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "it is a more pleasant sourishness".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "the growing of these fruits".

gether. It is not very pleasant[1] to looke on, nor yet[2] to handle, but verie good cheap throughout all India, by reason of the great quantitie thereof.

Tamarinde, is by the Ægyptians called Dgrelside.[3] *The tree wheron it groweth, is as great as a Plumme tree, with thicke branches, and leaves like a Mirtle: The flowers white like Orange flowers, from the middle whereof do proceede fower white thinne threeds, which growe out of the huske, wherein the seede and the pith is, which wee call Tamarindi. The leaves of the tree doe alwaies turne towards the Sunne, and when it goeth downe, they shut together and cover the huske in the night time. At Alcayro in their gardens I saw some of these trees, and one by Saint Macarius Cloyster in the wildernesse,*[4] *where no other Hearbs nor trees doe grow. The Turkes and Egyptians use this Tamarinde, much in hotte diseases and Feavers: they put it into faire water, and so drinke it. I healed my selfe therewith of a pestilent Fever,*[5] *being in Siria. It is a common Medecine among them, which as they travel through the drie* [*woods and*] *wildernesse*[4] *they doe use, and also against the Plague and other hot diseases,*[6] *proceeding of Cholericke burning humors, and against the heate of the Liver and Kidneyes, it is verie good. I can shewe the whole huske or shell of the Tamarinde with the leaves as they grow, and*[7] *the Canna Fistula, which I my selfe gathered in Egypt. The leaves of Tamarinde trees, are used*[8] *against Wormes in childrens bellies, and the young huskes, as also the Cassia Fistula, are in Egypt used to be conserved in*

[1] Orig. Dutch: "seer ontijch" (very filthy).

[2] Orig. Dutch: "and yet dirtier".

[3] Probably a combination of the Persian "dâr"= tree, and the Arabian "al-sayida", *vulgo* "al-ŝîda" = the woman, *i.e.*, the Virgin Mary; consequently, Our Lady's tree. I have not found the word elsewhere, neither has Prof. Dozy. (Note of Prof. De Goeje.)

[4] Orig. Dutch: "woestijne" (desert).

[5] Orig. Dutch: "a bad fever".

[6] Orig. Dutch: "against pestilential and other foul fevers".

[7] Orig. Dutch: (add) "those of".

[8] Orig. Dutch: (add) "in Egypt".

Honnie of Saint Johns bread, or Suger, whereof I brought great Pots full over.[1]

The Canna Fistula, which is likewise much used for Purgations, and other such like Medicines, is much found in India, as also in Cambaia, Sion, Malacca, and the places bordering on the same: but because there is the like in the Spanish Indies, and many other places, and sufficiently knowne, I will speake no more of it: but follow on with matters of lesse knowledge.

Of these trees I have seene in Egypt at the least thousands together, specially about Damiata, a famous[2] *towne in Egypt, lying on the [ryver] Nilus, even in like sort as the towne of Campen [lyeth] uppon Issel about a mile from the Sea. The Egyptians call it Cassia Chaiarx-Ambar.*[3] *The trees whereon Cassia groweth, are altogether like our Wallnut trees, both for body, branches, and leaves, only the flowers are Golde-yellow, and of a sweete savor, out of these groweth the great huskes wherein the Cassia lyeth. The huskes being small and without any woode are conserved likewise. The Egyptians use the huske of Cassia with white Suger,*[4] *& the iuice of Calissi-wood, against gravell, and all diseases of the bladder and the Kidnics, also against coughing, and stopping of the brest, with Agaricum, also outwardly against hotte inflamations, laying the Cassia upon them. Hee that desireth to know more hereof, let him reade Mathiolus*[5] *and other Physitions, that have written most diligently upon the same.*[6]

[1] Note by Dr. Paludanus.

[2] Orig. Dutch: "very pleasant".

[3] Pers., Khiyār-shambar, *Cassia fistula.*

[4] Orig. Dutch: "slic-suycker"; literally, sugar for swallowing (medicines?).

[5] *I.e.*, Pietro Andrea Mattioli, a learned Italian physician of the sixteenth century, who wrote *Discordi*, or *Commentaries on Dioscorides.*

[6] Note by Dr. Paludanus.

The 82. Chapter.

Of Mirabolanes.[1]

The Myrobalanes are found in many places of India, that is, in Cambaia, in the land of Ballagate, in Goa, in Malabar, and in Bengalen: whereof there are five sortes.[2] The first by Physitions called Citrinos,[3] and by the Indians Arare, those are round, and are used to purge choller. The second

[1] All the information in this chapter is taken from *Colloquio* xxxvii of Garcia de Orta's book. Mirobalans have long been obsolete as medicines, though astringent and laxative. They were produced by different kinds of Terminalia or Myrobalanus (ord. *Combretaceæ*).

[2] The names of nearly all these are from the Arabic. Mesue ("Mesue Volgar" of 1521, Venice), *i.e.*, Yūhanna Ibn Māsūya*h* († 857 A.D.), has a chapter (lib. II, c. ii, f. 15*b*) full of conjectures regarding these drugs, but which is of interest as showing the corrupt forms of the Arabic names, whence the European names (as in the text) are derived, as Garcia de Orta stated (*Colloquios*, f. 148*b*), and attributed them to the Latin translators of Avicenna and Serapion, etc. It is evident that these drugs were unknown to the West before the Arabs got them, and (as De Orta also said) the Greek name "Myrobalan" was arbitrarily applied by the translators as an equivalent of an Arabic name (*u. s.*, f. 148*b*). Ch. ii of Book II of Mesue is called: "Capitulo de mirabolani, citrini, keboli, et indi"; ch. iii refers to "emblici"; and ch. iv to "bellerici".

The earliest modern Herbal (*Herbolarium*, 4to., Venice, 1499) has a chapter (vi, Part II) on Myrobalans: "Emblici sunt fructus crescentes ultro mare et mirabolani citrini et kebuli, etc. Emblici purgant flegma et melancoliam cum decoctione radicis esule minoris et sene... Omnes mirabolani sunt frigidi et sicci in secundo gradu: et mirabolani citrini purgant coleram: sed kebuli emblici bellerici purgant flegma: sed indi purgant melancoliam. Autores dicunt q' omnes mirobolani purgant coleram: sed quidam minus," etc.

The medical uses mentioned in the text, and the qualities attributed to these drugs, are all given in Mesue and the Arabic writers, and also by De Orta, who is copied here.—[B.]

[3] "Citrinos", a laxative drug; the fruit of the *Terminalia citrina* (Roxb.).—[B.]

which are called Emblicos,[1] and in India Amuale,[2] are used in India to tanne Leather withall, as [Tanners use] Sumach, and when they are ripe and also greene, they eate them for an appetite.[3] The third sort in India called Resonualle, and by the Physitions Indius,[4] are eight cornered. The fourth by the Physitions called Bellericos,[5] and by the Indians Gutij, are also round. The first & last are in India called Aretean, & by the Physitions Quebulus,[6] those are somwhat long, roundish with points. The trees are almost like Plumme trees, but they have severall sorts of leaves, each tree by himselfe. They are commonly one with the other in greatnesse and fashion like Plummes, but that some of them are squarer and rounder, as I said before. Three sorts are onely used and esteemed of by the Physitions in India, that is Quebulus, which grow in Cambaia, Bisnagar and Bengala, which are likewise preserved & eaten in that sort, as also carried into [divers places, as well to] Portingall as else where, likewise the Cetrinos and Indius, which also are preserved: [and they] grow in Malabar, Batecala[7] and Bengala,

[1] "Emblicos." Arabic: *ahlīlj*. This is clearly a corruption of the Sanskrit name *āmlaka*, *i.e.*, sour (fruit). These are unripe Belleric mirobalans.—[B.]

[2] *Amuale*, *i.e.*, Hind. *āmūlā*, or *āmwlā* (*Emblica officinalis*, Gaertn.).—[B.]

[3] For an instance of eating this drug as an article of food in India, cfr. "Kathāsaritsāgara"; *qr.* De Orta (*u. s.*, ff. 149, 151).—[B.]

[4] "Indos." Arabic: *Hindī*, the name of the unripe fruit of the *Myrobalanus chebula* (Sanguinetti, *Quelques Chapitres de Médecine et de Thérapeutique Arabes*, 1866, p. 131).—[B.]

[5] "Bellericos." Arabic: *balīlj*, the fruit of the *Terminalia bellerica*. —[B.]

[6] "Quebulus." Arabic: *kāballī*, the fruit of the *Terminalia chebula* of Bengal. (*Aretean*, perhaps = *harītakī*, a Sanskrit name of this fruit.) The five different kinds of Mirobalans are produced by different trees, as De Orta said (*u. s.*, f. 149). Mesue and the older writers appear to have considered them all to be different stages of maturity, or differently prepared fruits of the same tree.—[B.]

[7] Baticala (= Batkul) to the south of Mangalore (South Canara), was then a commercial port of some note.

they are much used, esteemed and carried into other countries. The Mirabolans when they are ripe are almost in taste like unripe Plummes, but because this matter concerneth[1] Physitions & Apoticaries, I will speake no more thereof, having onely set it downe for a common thing[2] in India.

All these five sorts of Mirabolanes are brought us hether out of India [ready] dried, and some conserved in pickle, others in Suger. The first wee call Citrinas or Flauas, which are yellow Mirabolans, and the yellower the better, shewing some thing greene, close, and fast, and gummie with a thicke shell. They purge the stomake from choller,[3] and are good against Tertians, and other hotte burning[4] Feavers, and [verie] necessarie for a hotte nature. The second wee call Indus: these the blacker they are, the better they purge choller,[3] specially black choller,[3] they are good against shaking of the limmes, they cause a faire colour and drive away sadnesse. The third is called Cepule or Chebulæ, the greater they are the better, blackish, and somewhat reddish, heavie, and sinking in the water, they purge fleame they sharpen mens wits, and cleare the sight. They are here preserved[5] in Suger and Honnie, they doe strengthen and purge the stomak, they heale the dropsie, and are good against olde Agues, they likewise give a man an appetite, and helpe digestion. The fourth wee call Emblicas, and the fift Bellericas, they have in a manner one kinde of operation like the other called Cebulus.[6] They cleanse the body from fleagme, specially the braines, the Kidnies, and the stomake, they strengthen the hart, give an appetite, and ease belching. The Emblice, are also conserved & eaten to the same ende. All these fruites purge, but in an other kinde of manner then doth Cassia or Manna, or such like drugges, but they do it by astriction or binding, thrusting that

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "chiefly".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "as one of the common wares".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "gal" (gall, bile).
[4] Orig. Dutch: "bilious".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "they are also brought to us preserved", etc.
[6] Orig. Dutch: "Chebulas". (See p. 124.)

out which is in the members. They that desire to knowe more hereof, let him reade Mathiolus, and Garcius ab Horto, and others.[1]

The 83. Chapter.

Of other Spices and Hearbes in India.

Spiconardus groweth in the countries of Sitor[2] & Mandor,[3] (which are places that border uppon the lands of Decan, Dely, and Bengalen) it is sowed, and groweth on plants, about 2. or 3. spans high, (like corne) with great veines, wherein the Spiconardus groweth. They doe commonly come close [out] of the earth by the roote, and by that sort are brought into Cambaia, and other places to sell, and from thence sent into all places.

The Indian Spica comforteth the mawe, being taken inwardly and also outwardly applyed, and consumeth cold humors.[4]

Aloe, by the Arabians called Sebar,[5] by the Decaners Area, by the Canarijns Cate, Comer, and by the Portingales Azeure, is made of the Iuyce of an Hearbe, when it is dried, the Herbe is called by the Portingales Herba Baboza, that is Quil herbe.[6] There is much of it in Cambaia, Bengala, and other places, but in the Iland called Sacotora (which lyeth on the mouth of the redde Sea, or the strength[7] of Mecca) there is great quantitie, and the best. It is a marchandise that is carried into Turkie, Persia, Arabia, and also into

[1] Annotation of Dr Paludanus.

[2] Chitór, the old Rajput capital.

[3] Mandu, the old capital of Málwa.

[4] Annotatio D. Paludani.

[5] Arab. "açcibâr", whence the Portug. "azevre" (Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 35).

[6] Orig. Dutch: "Quylcruyt". Quylen or Kwijlen (Ptg. "babar") is to slaver, salivate.

[7] Orig. Dutch: "Estrec'io" (strait).

Europe, whereby the Iland is much esteemed, and the Aloes called after the name of the Iland, Aloes Socotrino, or Aloes of Sacotora.

Aloes purgeth the stomacke from choler,[1] *and tough fleagme, specially* [*a watrie and weake stomake:*][2] *it taketh away all stopping, and consumeth rawe moystures, preserving* [*it*] *from foulenesse: besides this, it strengtheneth the stomake, it is made stronger* [*& of more force*] *by adding to it Cinamon, Mace, or Nutmegges. Aloes is good specially against Kooren*[3] *and rawnesse, and for such persons as have their stomakes ful of raw moysture, it is also used outwardly against sores* [*that breake forth of the body*][4] *and for the eyes.*[5]

The fruite called Anacardi, is in manye places of India, as in Cananor, Calecut, and the countrie of Decan, and in divers other places. The Arabians call it Balador, the Indians Bibo, and the Portingall Faua de Malacca, that is Beanes of Malacca, because it is like a beane, but somewhat greater then the Beanes of these countries, they are used in India with milke, against a short breath, for the Wormes, and for many other things. When they are greene they make Achar[6] thereof, that is to say, they salt them and lay them in Vineger, as they do with the most kind of fruites and Spices, as in divers places I have shewed.

This fruite hath her name from the hart, because in colour and likenesse, it resembleth the heart, specially beeing drie. When the fruites are greene and hanging on the tree (as I have seene them in Sicilia upon mount Æthna) they are like great Beanes: and are salted like Olives, being verie good to eate, within them they have a certaine iuyce, as thicke as Honnie, and as red

1 Orig. Dutch: "galle" (bile).
2 Orig. Dutch: "that which is washed" (viz., the aloes).
3 "Kooren" (old Dutch) signifies to vomit.
4 Orig. Dutch: "running sores" (voortloopende sweren).
5 Annotatio D. Paludani.
7 "*Achar*," *i.e.*, Persian, Hind. = pickles.—[B.]

as bloud, which is good against stains.[1] *The same operation that is in prepared Mirabolanes, is also in them, they heate & drie, they strengthen the memorie, the braines and sinewes, sharpen the wits, and are good against cold affections of the head.*[2]

The Calamo Aromatico called in Gusurate Vaz, in Decan Vache,[3] in Malabar Vasabu,[4] in Malacca[5] Daringoo, in Persia Heger,[6] in Cuncan (which is the countrie of Goa and there abouts Northwards) Vaycan, and in Arabia Cassab and Aldirira,[7] is sowed in many places of India, as in Goa, the Countrie of Gusurate and Ballagate, where it is sowed and so groweth, it hath no smell at all, untill it be gathered. The women use it much in India, for the mother,[8] also for paine in the Sinewes, it is also much used for horses, for when it is cold weather, they give it horses in the morning to eate, being beaten and mixed with Garlike Cominseede, salte, Suger, and Butter. This receipt they call Arata, which is alwayes used in India, for horses, wherewith (as they saye) they doe them great good. The Calamo Aromatico is the stalke or Reede of the Hearbe, but the inward and spungious part is of yelowish colour, the roote of the tree is good for nothing, but onely the stalke or Reede therof, with [that which is in] the middest of it.

What the right Calamus Aromaticus is, my verie good friend Doctor Carolus Clusius writeth in his learned Annotations upon Garcius ab Horto in his 127 *leafe, whereof certaine peeces were given me,*[9] *which I brought out of Egypt, where it is found in*

[1] Orig. Dutch: "vlechten" (German, "Flechten"), cutaneous eruptions, tetters.

[2] Annotatio D. Paludani.

[3] The form in Sanskrit is "vacā" —[K.]

[4] Tamil, "v. sambu".—[K.]

[5] Orig. Dutch: "die Malayen" (the Malays). The Malay word is "dĕringu".

[6] Read: "eger" (Pers.).

[7] Read: "Qaçab al-dhaʾira" (Arab.).

[8] Orig. Dutch: "disease of the mother".

[9] Orig. Dutch: "to whom (*i.e.*, to Clusius) I gave any pieces of it".

great aboundance, and much used. They call it Cassab Elderira,[1] *it is a thinne Reede, being freshe [and unwithered] of a light Gold yelow colour, with many knots and splinters*[2] *in the breaking, and within spungie like Cobwebbes, white & tough in chawing, and astringent, with a little sharpe bitternesse, as I can shew it, and much therof may be had out of Egypt, where they put it in their Treakle, and use it many other waies, to drive downe the Urine, and for the stone.*[3]

Costus which the Arabians call Cost or Cast,[4] the Gusurates of Cambaia Ulpot, and they of Malacca Pucho,[5] whether it is much brought, and also into China and other places. It commeth from Sitor and Mandor above named,[6] where Spiconardi is found, and from thence it is brought into Cambaia and India, and so into all other places. They are trees almost like Elder trees with white blossomes, and very strong of smell. The wood and the roote is the Costus, it is a great marchandise in Persia, Arabia, and Turkie where[as] it is very much used.[7]

I have many kindes of Costus, the Indian, described by Garcius, with all her tokens. The Arabian and Syrian with her right markes, and also an other sorte, much like Ginger. The Indian Costus is the best of them all, it healeth, driveth downe the Urine and the stone,[8] *it cleanseth the Mother, [being received into the bodie, or thrust up into it],*[9] *and maketh women apt to conceive. It is good against the byting of Snakes, payne in the brest, and the Wormes, &c.*[10]

[1] See p. 128. [2] Orig. Dutch: "splintery".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "and the menses".—Annotatio D. Paludani.

[4] Read: *qost*.

[5] Paching (Javanese). See *Filet*, p. 244. Putchuk (the general trade name in India) is alleged to be used in Tamil by Ainslie, *Materia Indica*, ii, 165. [6] See p. 126.

[7] This root was formerly held to be stimulative, carminative, etc.; and was used in the compound termed *theriac*.—[B.]

[8] Orig. Dutch: "the menses".

[9] Orig. Dutch: "by taking it or being warmed with it".

[10] Annotatio D. Paludani.

Cubebus so called by the Arabians, and also Quabes,[1] by all the other Indians Cubachini, or Cubabchini, because the Chinars before the Portingales comming into India, used to bring it out of the Ilandes of Iava from Sunda, where they grow, and in no other place. For as then[2] the Chinars had Navigation into all places of India, trafficking throughout all the Orientall Countries, with all kinde of wares, as well on the firme land as in the Ilandes. The Iavers which are the inhabitants of [the place] where it growes call it Cumuc.[3] It groweth like Pepper against a tree, as Ivie doth, the leaves are verie like Pepper leaves, and it groweth in huskes like Pepper but everie graine hath a stalke of it selfe, whereby it hangeth. The Iavers hold it in so great estimation, that they sell it not before it is sodden, because the strangers that buy it should not plant it. It is much used specially among the Moores, who put it into their Wine, therwith to make them apter to accomplish their lustes, whereunto they are much given:[4] and the Iavers use it against the coldnesse of the stomacke and other diseases.

Cubebus is a fruit like Pepper, about the same bignesse, the best are such as are close, full, heavie and sharpe, although [*they be*] *lesse then Pepper,* [*but*] *somewhat bitter and smell well,* [*being*] *in a manner sweete. They warme and comfort the stomacke, which is weake by reason of superfluous or windie matter, they cleanse the breast from tough fleagme, they strengthen the Milt, breake winde, and helpe colde diseases of the mother, beeing chawed, with Masticke, they cleanse the braines from fleagm, & strengthen them.*[5]

The leaves called Folium Indum, which the Indians call Tamalapatra,[6] are like Orange leaves, but somewhat sharper,

[1] Orig. Dutch: "Quabeb". Arab. "Kabâba".

[2] That is, before the second half of the fifteenth century.

[3] Kamukus is the Sundanese and Malay name. See *Filet*, p. 149.

[4] Orig. Dutch: "wherefore they hold it very good".

[5] Annotatio D. Paludani.

[6] *I.e.*, Sanskrit, *tamālapatra*.—[K.]

and of a dark green colour. They have 3 veynes [that reach] unto the end [of the leafe] one in the middle, and two on the sides, that is, on each side one. They have a sweet smell, almost like Cloves. The tree whereon they grow, is of a reasonable bignesse: they grow alwaies on the side of Lakes, waters, [or ditches,] and are in manie places of India, but most in Cambaia: the Indians use manie of these leaves, and cause them to be caryed and sold by whole balles: they say they are good to provoke urine, & against a stincking breath: also they lay them betweene their apparell, cloathes and Linnen, for it keepeth them from wormes, and say it serveth in all things as Spiconardi doth.

The Latinists have derived the name thereof from the Indian word, Tamalapatra, and call it Malabatrium: the Arabians, Cadegi Indi,[1] *that is to say, the Indian leafe: it is likewise much brought hither, speciallie to Venice, and is used to provoke urine, to strengthen the stomack & to helpe a stinking breath.*[2]

Galanga by the Arabians called Galvegian,[3] is of two sortes, one that is small and smelleth well, which is brought out of China into India, and from thence to Portingal and other places: and this sort is in China called Lavaudon:[4] the other beeing greater is found in the Iland Iava, and by them called Lanquas,[5] and this smelleth not so well, as that of China: they grow on small plants, a spanne or 2 spannes high from the earth, of themselves without setting: that of Iava is the greatest plant, about fyve spannes high: it hath leaves like the point of a speare, with a white flower, which bringeth forth seed: although they sowe it not, yet in India

[1] *Sādhaj*, or *Sādhajī hindī*, is Arab. and Pers. for Folium Indicum or Malabathrum.

[2] Annotatio D. Paludani.

[3] Arab. "Khalandjân". See Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 271.

[4] Orig. Dutch: "Lavandou".

[5] The true Malay name is Lahos.—[K.]

they have planted some in their Gardens for pleasure, and use it for Sallets and other medicines, specially the midwyves, (which in India are called Dayas:) it groweth not of the seed, but of the roote which is planted in the earth, like Ginger: they are great & long, and have knottes like reeds: it is a thing used in India for many medicines, & caryed into al places.

Galanga is a roote with many knots, being red both inwardly & outwardly [the knottes running about it,][1] *smelling well, and sharpe of taste, for savor and fashion like the Cyperus roote, wherefore by some men it is esteemed for Cyperus of Babylon. It heateth and dryeth in the third degree: therefore it comforteth the stomake, and driveth away the payne thereof proceeding of cold and windynesse. It healeth a stincking breath: it helpeth the beating of the hart, being drunk with the iuyce of the leafe of Weghe:*[2] *it healeth the Colicke proceeding from wind: it is good also against the windines of the Mother, it increaseth lust, heateth the kidneyes, and everie morning eating a little therof, it healeth the head-ache which hath long indured.*[3]

Of these and such like herbes there are manie[4] in India, and in the Orientall parts, the names and properties whereof are to mee unknowne, because they are not so common, nor knowne among the meaner sort of people,[5] but onlie by Physitians, Apothecaries, and Herbalistes: therefore I have onlie spoken of such as are commonlie knowne, and daylie used. And this shall suffice for Spices, Drugges, and medicinable herbes.

[1] Orig. Dutch: "crooked on the knots".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "weghe-bladeren", *i.e.*, the leaves of the plantain (plantago).

[3] Annotatio D. Paludani.

[4] Orig. Dutch: "many others".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "den ghemeenen man", *i.e.*, ordinary people.

The 84. Chapter.

Of all sorts of Pearles[1] [both great and small], and of precious stones, as Diamantes, Rubies, Topaces, Saffires, and other [such like stones], called Oriental stones, and of the Bezers stone, which is good against poyson, and such like [diseases], and in what manner and place they are found.

Pearles by the Portingales are called Perolas, that is, such as are great, and the small Alioffar,[2] in Latin, Margaritas: in Arabia, Lulu: in Persia[3] and India, Motii: and in Malabar, Mutiu.[4] The principall and the best that are found in all the Orientall countries, and the right Orientall pearles are [some] betweene Ormus and Bassora, in the straights, or Sinus Persicus, in the places called Bareyn, Catiffa, Iulfar, Camaron, & other places in the said Sinus Persicus, from whence they are brought into Ormus. The King of Portingale also hath his Factor in Bareyn, that stayeth there onlie for the fishing of pearles. There is great trafficke used with them, as well in Ormus as in Goa. There are also other fishings for pearle, as betwéene the Iland of Seylon, and the Cape de Comriin, where great numbers are yearelie found, for that the King of Portingale hath a captaine there with [certaine] soldiers that looketh unto it: they have yearlie at the lest above 3 or 4 thousand duckers, yt live onlie by fishing for pearles, and so maintaine themselves, whereof everie yeare many are drowned or devoured by ye fishes called Tubarones or Hayen,[5] whereof I have alreadie made mention: these pearls are not so good, nor so much esteemed as the pearles of Ormus, and are of a lower price, which they know [likewise] how to discerne at the first

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and Aljoffar", *i.e.*, "seed-pearl".
[2] *I.e.*, the Arabic name. See note 1, on p. 45 of vol. i.
[3] The Persian name is "marwârid", from the Latin.
[4] Orig. Dutch: "Mutu". Malayālam and Tamil, *muttu*.—[K.]
[5] The Dutch word for sharks; *tubarão*, the Portuguese.

sight. There are also pearles found by the Iland of Borneo,[1] and the Iland of Aynon, on the coast of Cauchinchina, but those of Ormus surpasse them all. They are fished for by dukers that dive into the water, at the least 10. 12 or 20 fadome deepe. They grow in Oysters, [but] the great[2] pearls are found in the Oysters that swimme aloft, and the smallest called Alioffar, are commonly in the bottome of the sea. The duckers are naked, having a basket bound at their backes,[3] which being at the bottome (to make more hast) they rake full [of Oysters and durt together], and then ryse up againe, and throwe them into boates, that lie readie for the purpose, with men in them, which presentlie take the Oysters and lay them on land to drie, where with the heate of the Sunne they open of themselves, and so they find the pearles of[4] Alioffar in the fish: and when they have made an end of fishing for that day, all the fishers, with the Captaine, Soldiers, laborers[5] and Watchmen for the King, goe together, and taking all the pearles that are caught that day, they divide them into certaine heapes, that is, one part for the King, an other part for the Captaine and Soldiers, the third part for the Iesuites, because they have their Cloyster in that place, and brought the Countrie first into the Christian Faith, and the last part for the Fishers, which is done with great Iustice and equalitie.[6] This fishing is done in Summer tyme, and there passeth not any yeare but that divers[7] Fishers are drowned by the Cape de Comoriin (which is called the Kings fishing) and manie devoured by Fishes:[8] so that when the fishing is done, there is great and pitifull noyse and cry of women and Children heard [upon the land, for the losse of their husbands and

[1] *I.e.*, near Palawan and the Sulu-archipelago.
[2] Orig. Dutch: "the greatest".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "their body".
[4] Read: "or".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "assistants".
[6] Orig. Dutch: "direction".
[7] Orig. Dutch: "a great many".
[8] Compare note 5 on p. 12.

friends]: yet the next yeare they must to the same worke againe, for that they have no other meanes to live, as also for that they are partlie compelled thereunto by the Portingales, but most part [are content to doe it,] because of the gaine [they get thereby after all the danger is past].[1] They finde sometimes many and sometimes but a few Pearles in one oyster, sometimes two hundred graines and more. The Oysters that have the best Pearles in them are thinne[2] and white, which the Indians call Cheripo, wherof they make spoones and cups to drink in. The Pearles are sold by sives which are made of [mettell driven into thin plate][3] for that purpose, whereof the holes are round. There are many sorts of sives, the first hath small holes, and the Pearles that passe through them are at one price: the next sive hath greater holes, and the Pearles that fall through it are at higher price, and so foorth [at the least] seaven or eight sives. The small stuffe that serve for no Pearles, they call Alioffar, and are sold by the ounce, and used by Potticaries and Physitions, and to that end many of them are caried into Portingall, & Venice, and are very good cheape. To give the Pearles a faire colour, in India they use rice beaten a little with salt, wherewith they rub them, and then they become as faire and cleare as christall, and so continue. There is yet an other sort of oysters by the Indians called Chancha,[4] & by the Portingales Madre Perola, or mother of Pearle, & are of the shell fishes that wee call inkehornes, which they know how to prepare and make cleane. They bring many of them into Portingale to serve for to drinke in, and to keepe for an ornament, [& for pleasure] specially those that come out of China and Bengalen, some guilt and painted with colours [very faire some] wrought with branches and other figures,

[1] Orig. Dutch: "which makes them know no danger".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "slecht" (of common size).
[3] Orig. Dutch: "blik" (white iron).
[4] Orig. Dutch: "Chanca". Sanskrit, *çankha*.—[K.]

as we dayly see them brought thether.[1] In India they make divers thinges of them, as deskes, tables, cubbards, tables to play on,[2] boxes, staves for women to beare in their hands, and a thousand such fine devises, which are all inlaid and covered with this Chanco or Mother of Pearle, very faire to beholde, & very workmanlike made, and are in India so common that there is almost no place in those countries but they have of them. It is likewise much caried abroad, both into Portingale, and els where, but they are most used in India, for there the women, speciallie those of Bengala use to weare manillias, or bracelets of them about their armes, that is to say, those of most account, and they must not take a maidens maidenhead from her that is of any estate or degree, but she must have some of these mother of Pearle bracelets about her armes, which at this day is yet much used, [and observed,] whereby it is verie much worne.

Torteanxes there are likewise in great numbers throughout all India: of their shelles they make many curious devises, as Combes, Cuppes, and Boles to drinke in, with tablemen[3] and divers such like thinges, knowing howe to give it a faire and shining colour most pleasant to behold, and is more esteemed of in India, then the mother of pearle, by reason of the beautifull colour they set uppon it.

The 85. Chapter.

Of Diamonds.

Diamonds by the Arabians and Mores called Almas, and by the Indians where they grow Iraa,[4] and by the Malagans[5]

[1] Orig. Dutch: "hither".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "ticktac-berden" (backgammon boards).

[3] Orig. Dutch: "schyven om met te ticktacken" (men at backgammon).

[4] Sanskrit, *hîrâ*.—[K.]

[5] Read: Malayans (Malays).

where they are likewise found, Itam.[1] They grow in the Countrie of Decam behinde Ballagate, by the Towne of Bisnagar, wherein are two or three hilles from whence they are digged, whereof the King of Bisnagar doth reape great profitte: for hee causeth them to be straightly watched, and hath farmed them out with this condition, that all Diamonds that are above twenty five Mangelyns in waight are for the king himselfe: (every Mangelyn is foure graines in waight) and if anie man bee found that hideth anie such, hee looseth both life and goods.

There is yet another hill in the Countrie of Decam, which is called Velha,[2] that is the old Rocke: from thence come the best Diamonds, and are sold for the greatest price, which the Diamond grinders, Iewellers, and Indians can very well discerne from the rest.

These Diamonds are much brought to sell in a Faire that is holden in a Towne called Lispor,[3] lying in the same countrie of Decam betweene Goa, and Cambaia, whether the Banianes and Gusurates of Cambaia doe goe and buy them up, bringing them to Goa, and other places. They are very skilfull in these matters, so that no Ieweller can goe beyond them, but oftentimes they deceive the best Iewellers in all Christendome. In this Roca Velha, there are Diamonds founde that are called Nayfes ready cut, which are naturall,[4] and are more esteemed then the rest, specially by the Indians themselves.

In the straight called Tania pura, a countrie on the one side of Malacca[5] there is likewise an old rocke, which also is

[1] Read: Intan (Mal.) from *hintĕn* (Jav.). This word is derived from Sanskrit, *hīrâ*, with change of the final syllable, according to the rules observed in forming so-called Krama-words in Javanese. From Javanese it has passed into Malay.—[K.]

[2] Read: "Rocha velha".

[3] Probably Elichpur, the old capital of Berar.

[4] Orig. Dutch: "which in such manner are procreated by nature".

[5] Tandjong Pura, the old capital of Matan on the west coast of

called Roca Velha, where many Diamonds are found, that are excellent: they are small, but verie good, and heavie, which is good for the seller, but not for the buyer. Diamonds are digged like gold out of Mynes, and where they digge one yeare the length of a man into the ground, within three or foure yeares after, there are Diamondes founde againe in the same place which grow there. Sometimes they find Diamonds of one hundred and two hundred Mangelyns, and more, but verie few.

There is another stone called a Topace for colour which is almost like the Diamond, but darker & of lesse estimation. There are [many of them] founde, that are of great valew for that kinde of stone, and are likewise digged [out of the earth] like Diamonds in many places of India. There are also white Saffires and Rubies, which can hardly bee knowne from Diamonds unles [it be] by very good and experts Iewellers, and Diamond grinders. There is likewise founde in India[1] a kinde of thing much like to Rock-christall, but indeede it is none: for there is no Christall to be found in India, nor in any of the oriental countries. It is called berylo,[2] and is little different from Christall. It is much found in Cambaia, Pegu, and Seylon, and they make many things thereof, as beades, scales, and divers other thinges, which they sell unto the Christians, and use among themselves.

Borneo. It is mentioned by Castanheda and others as a town from which came diamonds. On the map of Linschoten it is called Taiaopura.

[1] Orig. Dutch: "in many places of India".

[2] Originally Sanskrit, *vaiḍūrya*.—[K.] Beryllo is Portuguese, from the Latin beryllus (Greek, Βήρυλλος).

THE 86. CHAPTER.

Of Rubies, Espinelles, Granades, Emeralds, and other precious stones.

Rubies are of manie sorts, but the best are those that are called Carbunckles, which are Rubies that waigh above 25. quilates, wherof there are verie few and seldome to be found. The best Rubies that are of the best colour and water are in India called Tockes, which are like Carbunckles, there are others called Ballax, which are of a lower price then the first, and they are red.[1] There are others called Espinellas, that are of colour like fire, and are lesse esteemed then the other two sortes, because they have not the right water of Rubies. There are Rubies also of manie other sorts, wherof some are white like Diamonds as I said before: other of a Carnation colour or much like white Cherries when they are ripe. There are Rubies found halfe white, halfe red, some halfe Rubies, halfe Safires, and a thousand such other sortes. The cause thereof is because that in the rockes and hils where they grow, their first colour is white, and by force of the Sunne, are in time brought to their perfection and ripenesse, and beeing perfect they are of colour red, like the Carbunckle and Tockes aforesaid, but wanting somewhat of their perfection, and being digged out before that time, they are of divers colours as I said before, and how much paler they are, and lesse red then the Tockes, so much are they less in valew: for[2] as they are in beautie and perfection, so are they esteemed every one in their kinde. Those that are halfe Rubies, and halfe Safires, which the Indians call Nilcandi, that is to say, halfe Safier, and halfe Rubie, proceed of this that the Rubies and Safiers grow alwaies in one rocke, whereby they

[1] Orig. Dutch: "reddish".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "however".

are oftentimes founde, halfe one, halfe other. The Rubies by the Arabians and Persians are called Iacut,[1] by the Indians Manica.[2] The Safiers are of two sortes, one of a darke blew, the other of a right[3] blew, the Iacinth, Granades, and Robasses are likewise certaine kinds of Rubies, but little esteemed, the Indians call them the yellow and carnation Rubies, and so foorth, according to their colour. These Iacinthes, Granadoes, and Robasses, are in so great numbers in Cananor, Calecut, and Cambaia, that they are to sell in everie Market, and corner of the streets, by whole corgias, each corgia having twentie peeces [at the least in it], they sell the corgia for one stiver or two at the most, as many as you will desire, but you must understand, they are of the smallest sort. The Safier is not of so great estimation as the Rubie, and yet is one of the most precious stones that are next the Diamond, and the Rubie: the Rubies, Safiers, and other stones aforesaid, doe grow and are found in rockes [and hilles] like Diamonds: they come out of Calecut, Cananor, and from manie places in the land of Bisnaga, but most out of the Island of Seylon, which are the best: but those of the Countrie of Pegu are esteemed the finest, whereof there is great store.

The Emerauldes which the Indians call Pache,[4] and the Arabians Samarrut,[5] there are none throughout al India, yet it is reported yt some have bin found there, but [verie] few & not often: but they are much brought thether from Cairo in Ægypt, and are likewise called Orientall: they are much esteemed in India, because there are but few of them. There are many also brought out of ye Spanish Indies, and carryed into the lande of Pegu, where they are much worne,[6] and

[1] Yàqût (Arab.).

[2] Cfr. Sanskrit, *māṇikya*; Tamil, *māṇikkam*.—[K.]

[3] Read: "light".

[4] Malayālam, "pacca", from the green colour *(pacca)*.—[K.]

[5] Zomorrad (Arab.), whence the European names—smaraude, smaragd, emeraude, emerald.

[6] Orig. Dutch: "ghesleten", *i.e.*, sold.

esteemed of, wherby many Venetians (that have travelled thether with Emeraldes and bartered them for Rubies) are become very rich, because among them men had rather have Emeraldes than Rubies: All the said stones are likewise used[1] in medicines, and Apoticarie drugges. Turqueses are found in great numbers in [the Countrey of] Persia, and[2] brought into India from [beyond] Ormus, by hundreth pounds at once, earth and altogether, which in India are little esteemed, for that the Indians and Portingals do not weare many of them, and make small account of them. The Iaspar[3] is much found in the land of Cambaia, but not much regarded: they make[4] dishes and cups thereof: it is of colour greene like the Emeralde. Chrisolites and Amatistes are many in the Island of Seylon, Cambaia, and Ballagatte, [and] the stone called Alakecca, [which] is also called Bloodstone, because it quickly stancheth blood, and other stones called Milke stones, which are good for women that give milke or sucke. These and such like stones are in great numbers found in Cambaia, and Ballagatte, and are brought to Goa, to bee solde, whereof they make Beades, Seales, Ringes, and a thousand such like curiosities: they are much esteemed, for that a seale of such a stone is worth two or three Pardaws the peece: there is also in Cambaia much Alambre, or[5] wherof they make many rings, beades, and such like things, which are much used: there are likewise stones, by the Portingalles called Olhos de Gato, that is to say, Cattes eyes, because they are like them (which is the Agat) and are of colour and fashion like Cattes eyes: they come out of Cambaia, but the best out of Seylon and Pegu: they are little brought into Portingal, for there they are not esteemed, and likewise

[1] Orig. Dutch: "much used".
[2] Orig. Dutch: (add) "some times".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "Jaspe".
[4] Orig. Dutch: (add) "in Cambaia".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "of barnsteen" (or amber).

because they are worth more in India then in Portingall, for the Indians esteeme much of them, specially the Chinos, and thether they are caryed, better esteemed, and sold there then any other stones: the Indians say that this stone hath a certaine propertie and vertue to preserve and keepe a man in the riches which he hath, and that they shall not lessen, but stil increase: the Loadstone, which the Portingalles call Pedra de Cevar is found in great quantity, and in many places of India, the Indians say, that if a man use dayly to eate a little of that stone, it preserveth him and maketh him look yong, and that he shall never looke olde: wherefore the Kinges and great Lordes of India use it in[1] pottes and vesselles, therein to [eate and] seeth their meate, thereby as they beleeve to preserve their youthes.

The 87. Chapter.

Of the Bezar stones, and other [stones good] against poyson.

The Bezar stone commeth out of Persia, from the land or Province called Carassone,[2] and also out of other places in India: they grow within the maw of a sheepe or Goat, about a little straw, that lyeth in the middle [of the maw], for by experience the straw is often found within them:[3] the stone is very slicke & smooth without, of a darke greene colour. These Goats [or sheepe] are by the Persians called Pazan, whereupon they call the stone Pazar,[4] and the Portin-

[1] Orig. Dutch: "use it for fabrication of".

[2] *I.e.*, Khorasan.

[3] This is De Orta's account of the origin of this biliary concretion. See f. 169*b* of his *Colloquios*.—[B.]

[4] This is a mistake. The name is originally Persian—*pādzahr*—which means "preservative from" *(pād)* or "expelling poison" *(zohr* or *zahir)*. The Arabs wrote this *bādizahr* or *bāzahr*, which is the source of the Spanish-Portuguese *bezar* or *bezoar*, from which it has been adopted in

galles by corruption [of speech call it] Bazar or Besar, and the Indians Pedro do Bazar,[1] which is as much to say, as market stone: for Bęzar in the Indian speech signifieth a market or place where all victuailes are kept and solde, and for the same cause they call the smallest money Bazarucos,[2] as if they woulde say market money. This Bezars stone is very costly, and is much used in India against all poyson, and [other] diseases, and is more esteemed then Unicornes horne in Europe, for it is much tryed and sold very deare: the greater and heavier they are, the better and of more vertue they are: the common sorte are of three foure or five octaves weight, some more, some lesse: they are much brought into Portingal, and greatly esteemed: the place where they are most found, is (as I said before) in Persia and also in the Island called Insula das Vacas, or the Island of

other languages under slightly different forms (see Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 239; and Dozy's *Oosterlingen*, pp. 25, 26) through the Arab writers on medicine in the Middle Ages—*e.g.*, Averroes, Avicenna, Mesue, etc. Thus N. Leonicenus (*c.* 1491) says: "ut (Avicenna) inquit nomen theriacæ dignius attribuitur medicinis artificialibus, id est, compositis; et nomen bezaar singularibus cadentibus secundum naturam. Licet aliâs idem Avicenna bezaar cum theriaca videatur confundere, scribens in hunc modum: Albezaar et theriaca sunt omnes medicinæ, quarum proprietas est, ut conservent sanitatem, et virtutem in spiritu, ut expellant nocumentum veneni à se. Mihi vero videtur nomen bezaar apud Arabes significare idem, quod apud Graecos alixipharmacum," etc. It had thus become a general term, before the Portuguese discoveries made known the particular matter intended by the Arabs. (Leoniceni, "De Dipsade et aliis serpentibus liber", in his *Opuscula*, fo., Basle, 1532, f. 103*b*).

Bezoar stones were soon supplanted by the so-called snake-stones, which were fully shown to be worthless by the great naturalist F. Redi in the seventeenth century. (See his *Esperienze intorno a diverse cose naturali*, and his *Osservazioni intorno alle Vipere*, of 1671 and 1664 respectively, where he relates the experiments by which he tried these concretions.)

[1] The author has confused *Pāzahr* with *Bāzār*.—[B.]

[2] What the origin of this name of a small coin is, is obscure, but the statement in the text is certainly wrong.—[B.]

Cowes: It lyeth before the mouth of the river, entering into Cambaia, hard by the coast where the Portingall navie often putteth in to refresh themselves, and [being there], kill divers of the sheepe or Goats, wherein they finde many of these Bezars stones: likewise in the lande of Pan[1] by Malacca, there are many found: in the same countrey of Pan they find a certaine stone within the gall of a Hogge, which they esteeme more against poyson and [other] diseases[2] then the Bezars stone: the Portingalles call it Pedra do Porco, that is, Hogges stone: it is much used in[3] Malacca, it is of cleare redde colour, and bitter in taste, and savoureth like French sope: when they will use it and give it any man to drinke, they throw it into a cuppe of water, and so let it stande a little, [which done,] they take it out againe, and the water will be bitter, and cleanse all the venime that a man hath in his body, as by experience hath oftentimes been found. The Bezars stone is as hard as [any] stone, but not very heavie:[4] It is thought that these stones doe grow in the mawes of sheepe, and galles of Hogges by vertue of the grasse [or hearbes] whereon they pasture and feed, as we have declared of the Rhinoceros,[5] because they doe onely breede in those places above named, and in no place els, where these kinds of beastes are. In the towne of Ultabado[6] in the Countrey behind Goa in Ballagatte, there is a stone found by the Arabians called Hagerarmini, and by the Portingals Pedra Armenia,[7] and because there are many of them found in

[1] "Pan", *i.e.*, Pahang.

[2] Orig. Dutch: "all poisons and sicknesses".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "traded in".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "but light in weight".

[5] Above, p. 10.

[6] *I.e.*, Daulatabad.

[7] This is stated by De Orta (f. 164). "Hagerarmini", *i.e.*, Ar. Hajar Armanī. "*Lapis Armeniacus.* On l'employait jadis contre les affections dites *atrabilaires*, ou de la bile noire" (Sanguinetti, *Quelques Chapitres de Médecine ..... Arabe*, 1866, p. 102).

In the favourite mediæval Italian treatise on medicine known as

Armenia, they are commonly called so: it is blew & somelight greene: the Moores use it much in purgations and other diseases: besides these stones aforesaid, there are many sortes of stones, as well precious stones, as against poyson and other diseases, and of many properties & vertues: but because they are but little knowne, or trafiqued withall, I have onely made mention of those that are dayly bought and sold, and commonly knowne.

THE 88. CHAPTER.

A[1] [briefe] instruction how to know [and find out] the right Diamantes, Rubies, Emeralds, Pearls, & other precious stones, and how to value them [by waight] at their right prices and values, & first of the Diamant.

First you must understand that the Diamant is the king of al precious stones, because it is solde by weight, and hath [a very] certain thickenes, whereby it is [ordinarily] wrought, for when it is greater, it is nothing worth, and being lesse it will soone be perceyved: by the which thicknesse although it standeth in a ring, they can both see and gesse how much it weigth, within a little more or lesse, and being out of the ring it is weyghed, thereby to value it truely: there are olde and ancient records found [in India], wherein are written the

Mesue Vulgar, ch. xiii of libro II, treats of the pietra armena. This book is a translation of an Arabic treatise by Yūhanna Ibn Māsūya*h*, who died in 857 A.D. Pietra armena (described much as here, but as soft) was infused in water, which was used as a purgative for bilious disorders (see *Mesue Vulgar*, Venetian ed. of 1521, f. 27*b*). There was much confusion between *Lapis Armeniacus* and *Lapis lazuli* (cfr. Leoniceni, *Opuscula*, ed. 1532, f. 11*b*). Dioscorides (v, 55) mentions the former. Fallopius confounds it with *Lapis lazuli*, but says it was not used (*Opera*, ed. 1606, p. 122).—[B.]

[1] Orig. Dutch: "A short relation and".

prices of the stones, that is one Quilat[1] for so much, two Quilatès for so much, and three Quilates for so much after the rate &c. and so of all prices and weights accordingly: and because they are dayly bought and solde, it is therefore needefull[2] for a man to have a memoriall about him, that is, of the prices of the perfect and fayre stones, without fault or spot, for that being uncleane, or having any fault or spot, they are hardly to be valued. There are some Princes and great Lordes that desire to know the cause why such precious stones are holden at so great prices, whereunto no other answere is made, but because men buy and sell them so deare, for all thinges are esteemed no otherwise of, then because they are bought and sold at such pryces, and [so is their manner to sell for][3] if a Diamant of one Quilat alone, bee worth fiftie Duckets, being perfect, their[4] reason is, that [after the same rate] a great stone or Diamant may be worth 30. or 40. thousand Duckets, being in greatnesse and perfection correspondent: and the stones as well great as little, that untill this time have beene [bought and] solde, have not been so light,[5] that they were sold above or under their value and estimation. Now to value the great Diamant as it ought to be, it is necessarie to know and determine what a Diamant of a Quilat is worth, and a Rubie to match therewith: the like of an Emerald, [neyther] more nor lesse, & having well considered[6] what or how much hinderance the falts and foulenesse of the saide Diamant will be unto the sale thereof, deducting the same out of the price of the said Diamant,

[1] "Quilate. Port. 'quirate', Ital. 'carato', French and English, 'carat' (nom d'un petit poids), de quîrât, qui vient a son tour du Grec, κεράτιον" (Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 327).

[2] Orig. Dutch: "and because formerly they were not daily bought and sold as now, it was always needful".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "there is also a calculation and reason for it, viz."

[4] Orig. Dutch: "this same".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "never been so low".

[6] Orig. Dutch: "determined".

Rubie or Emerald being Orientall, of what greatnesse soever they bee, [you may value them, and] I will first beginne with the Diamant, for that other stones are valued after the rate thereof, and wil declare the perfection which it ought to have. The diamant yt is perfect in all respects, must be of that proportion, that the two squares on the sides must make the breadth of the upper parte of the stone, and that the under part of the stone be no broader, then that three of the breadths thereof will make the breadth of the upper part, and deepe according to the same proportion: and the squares on the side must stande close with the edge of the ring or thing wherin it is set,[1] being of the whole depth, and somewhat longer then square, and yet no more, then that it may be gessed,[2] which is the length and breadth thereof, also it must bee without any falts both in corners and sides, and every one of the foure corners sharpe and cleane cut, and of good water, Christaline & shining cleare, so that it may not [once] be perceived that it draweth neere any colour, and not of a darke water, but cleare and cleane: the Diamant with all these perfections is worth 50 duckets being of one Quilat: but because these perfections are not often found, and that few men understand them, therefore I will say that a Diamant of goodnesse and perfection according to the common estimation, being of the waight of one Quilat is worth 40 duckets, and after this rate wee will make our account, and whether it bee a small or great Diamant of what wayght goodnes or foulenesse soever it may bee: you must first consider & know what it waigheth, & if they cannot tell you, then you must gesse by the sight thereof, and alwayes esteeme it at lesse wayght then you think it weigheth, that you may value it within the price, and having esteemed

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and the squares of the side must incline to the table (the upper part) as the pavilions and tents incline to the apple, being," etc.

[2] Orig. Dutch: "hardly seen".

the waight, keepe that in your memorie, and say thus, if it were a Diamant of a Quilat waight of this water, and so perfect, or had the corners lesse then these, or any foulenesse in respect of this, and all the qualities, or faultes which a Diamant ought to have,[1] consider what such a Diamant may be worth, being of qualitie like that you will esteeme, & weighing no more but one Quilat: which having wel thought and considered upon, esteeme it rather lesse then more, & hold yt price in your memory as aforesaid, and thinke uppon the waight that it should weigh,[2] be it much or little, & double the same waight adding as much more unto it, as if it bee two, take other two, and multiply them together, and say 2. times 2. is foure; if it weygh 3 multiply it with three and they make 9. and so according to the number you find, and so you shall multiply all Diamonds, in waight, of what wayght soever they be, and multiply them as I said before with as much againe [as they bee esteemed], and the production of your multiplication you shall multiply by the summe of money you value the Diamant to bee worth, weighing one Quilate, and the production of the last multiplication is the value of the Diamant: & if in the waight there be any halfes, as if it wayghed 2½. Quilate, then you shall redeeme them into halfe Quilates, which is 5. halfe Quilates, and then say 5. times 5. is 25. and that you shall multiply with the price of the halfe Quilate, as you esteeme it, and the production thereof is the worth of such a Diamant, and if it chance yt the Diamant were so smal, that the waight of a graine should be therein esteemed: then you must reduce all the waight into graines, and multiply as aforesaid, and that which proceedeth thereof is the waight[3] of such a Diamant, as you seeke to value or esteeme. As for example, there is a Diamant that waigheth 2. Quilates, which is of such a qualitie,

[1] Orig. Dutch: "as the diamond should have".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "that the diamond weighs".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "worth".

that being of one Quilate it would be worth 40. Duckets, and being of halfe a Quilate, 10. Duckets, and being of a graine, 2. Duckets and a halfe. Now to know what this Diamant of 2. Quilates is worth, you shall say that 2. times 2. is 4. This 4. you shall multiply with 40. Duckets, which is the value thereof, being of one Quilate, it maketh 160. Duckets, which is the price of that Diamant of two Quilates: now that you have a Diamant of two Quilates and a halfe, which is five halfes, you shall say five times five is 25. this 25. multiplied by 10. it maketh 250. duckets, because the halfe Quilate cost 10. duckets, which is after the rate of 40. duckets the Quilate, then the Diamant of 2. Quilates and a halfe amounteth to 250. duckets. Now if a Diamant weighed 7. graines, you shall say 7. times 7. is 49. which 49. you must multiply by the value of a graine, which is two duckets and a halfe: so a Diamant of 7. graines is 127. duckets. In this manner you may alwaies know what a Diamant is worth, having rated the price of one Quilate: the waight of the Diamant you will esteeme being thus knowne, as by example is shewed, and so you may the easilier make your account. There are some Diamants that are faultie and unperfect, and are not worth 40. duckets, but of a lesse price according to the faultes, and may be worth 36. 35. 34. & 30. duckets, or any lower price, as the faultes are esteemed, & in that case it is very troublesome to knowe what half a Quilat or grain should be worth: wherin you must do thus: when you have esteemed what a Quilat of such a Diamant may be worth, & that in ye weight thereof there falleth out a halfe Quilat or grain, then you must first knowe what value it woulde bee worth being of one Quilate, and then make your account yt the fourth part of such a price is the value of halfe a Quilate, so that when a Quilate is worth 40. duckets, a halfe Quilate is ten duckets, and one grayne two duckets and a halfe: for foure graines is a Quilate; if the Quilate be 36. duckets, the halfe Quilate is 9. duckets, and one graine two duckets and

one Teston, and so after that rate may you know ye price of all Diamants, of what qualitie soever they bee. The like reckening is made with thinne Diamants, Rubies, and Emeraldes, [that is made with those] which are of greater price, as I shall hereafter shew you. You must understand that a Rubie bee of such a quantitie, that it may accompany a Diamant of one Quilate it is worth 70. duckets, or that there be any which is weight doe accompany a Diamant of halfe a Quilate or grayne, then you must make your account by halfe Quilates, or graynes, and you must alwayes knowe the price of one Quilate, and must understande that the fourth parte of 70. duckettes is the value of one halfe Quilate, and the fourth part of a halfe Quilate is the price of a grain, and so you shall make your reckening of Emeraldes, each one according to his waight and price. There are some Diamants that are thinne, and yet shew very cleare, which are more worth then they weygh, and lesse then their clearnes showeth: for a Diamant having a very thinne table and hollow,[1] yet on ye upper side having ye perfection in square, as I said, should be in a thick diamant, which is of so good perfection both in sides & hookes: such a Diamant sheweth to be of two Quilates, and weygheth but one: wherefore when your Diamant is of what greatnes soever it may be, being perfect in the upper parte, and thinne underneath, you must alwaies make your account, that being thinne underneath, it is of lesse[2] wayght then it showeth for, and if it be not altogether thinne underneath. then it weygheth more, yet the waight profiteth it nothing at all: and having the upper table smaller, and the sides greater, it will also weigh more, but the wayght avayleth it not: but you must alwaies esteeme it to weygh but the halfe of that it sheweth for: and not being wholly thin underneath, it will weygh more, but to no end: and having the table smal, and the sides and corners

[1] Orig. Dutch: "wat leech" (a little low).
[2] Orig. Dutch: "half the".

great, it weigheth more, but the weight avayleth not, but you must esteeme it to weigh but halfe so much as it sheweth for: for that before it bee made ready it will lose much of the waight. Now if there bee a Diamant that hath a great table outwardes, & the corners small, it shall not weigh halfe so much as it sheweth for, yet is it not anything ye worse for that, unlesse the corners were too small[1]: nowe if there bee a Diamant thinne underneath, and square above, with the perfections[2] that should belong unto it, it is worth being of one Quilate 70. duckets, and having any faultes or spots, every man may wel consider what hinderance they are unto it, and after this manner a man may easily set the pryce & value of them, and make his account after the rate of thicke Diamantes, his account being made of halfe the weight they seeme or shewe to have: as if they shew to bee two Quilates, make your reckening of one Quilate: and if it shew three Quilates, make your account of sixe grains, which is the half: and if there be any halfe Quilates, then see the price what a Quilate is worth, and so what a halfe amounteth unto, and so make your account as aforesaide by thicke Dyamantes, and in graynes the like, for there is no other difference then in the pryce,[3] for that a perfect and cleare thinne Diamant of one Quilate, is worth 70. duckets, and so in more or lesse waight accordingly &c.

The 89. Chapter.

Of Rubies.

When you have a Rubie to value [or esteeme] that is squared table wise, [as it should bee,] and that such a Rubie is to accompany a Dyamant of the same waight of Quilates

[1] Orig. Dutch: "very much too small".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "the other perfection".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "as in the price".

and so many Quilates in colour, if it hath foure and twentie Quilates in colour and perfection, like Golde of foure and twentie Quilates, then it is certaine, it is [both] fine and good. The Rubie is not solde by the waight, because it hath no certaine thickenesse, for that many of them are made thinne for pleasure to the sight, and the better to lay the grounde or leaves under them, and it may very well bee thinne, but not very much, for then it should bee a let [and hinderance] unto it: if a Rubie be whole and perfect [both] in colour, cleannesse, thickenesse, squarenesse, and forme, it is worth an hundred duckets: but there are very fewe that are perfect in all pointes, specially being great, for they have alwayes some faultes or spottes that are covered and hidden: but right perfect there are [none, or] very few, and not many men have any great[1] knowledge therein: therefore I will say, [thereby] to make our account, that a Rubie which in common shew is accounted perfect and good, is worth seventie duckets: so that when a Ieweller or stone cutter doeth aske another for a Rubie, which hee hath not, and sayth onely there is a Rubie of greatnesse to accompany a Diamant of so many Quilates, and hath so many Quilates in colour, the other thereby understandeth of what colour and greatnesse it is. Now having a Rubie or Rubies with tables or unground, and are to value them, or knowe what they be worth, you shall consider with your selfe and say thus: if there were a Rubie that were no greater then this, onely serving to accompany a Dyamant of one Quilate, and were of such colour[s], clearenesse, and qualitie[s], as this [in quantitie and] greatnes, & had the faultes in all respects that this hath, what would it bee worth: and having well considered the qualitie[s], goodnes or badnesse with the faults, how much they imbase [the price thereof], and having [thereafter] esteemed your price, beeing to accompany a Diamond of one Quilate, keep that price in your memorie, and looke on the Rubie how bigge it

[1] Orig. Dutch: "the right".

is, and what waight the Diamond hath, with the depth which it should be compared unto:[1] and also if it bee still raw and unground, consider how much it must be taken away in the grinding, and how bigge it will be when it is squared, [and fashioned]: which having done and knowing the waight of the Diamond it shall accompany, you shal then take as much more waight & multiplie it with the waight you have [alreadie] found, that it should be accompanying [a Diamond of] one Quilate, and the production thereof, is the valew of such a Rubie: to conclude, when you have determined what the waight of a Diamond is, that it may accompanie, you shall make your account as if it were a Diamond, and that which proceedeth of the waight, you shall multiplie with the price which you finde it to be worth, to keep companie with a Diamond of one Quilate: the Rubies that are unground and can be no tables, it is to be understood that they are better in that sorte then otherwise: Of these you must consider the price after the manner of the Diamond which hee may accompanie, & the height or depth of the stone, after that the colour, goodnes and faults as it falleth out, and make the account or reckoning thereof as of [Rubies with] tables, and ground, and [also] of the Diamonds. There are also Diamonds that are not [cut square] in tables, but have a good fashion for [to set in] anie Iewell, as being pointed with three corners, harts, and such like sorts, thereby to hide[2] their faultes, and are made in that sort to holde the greatnes and waight [thereof], and yet one of these being perfect in that manner, are not so much worth as [those with] tables: for that many times they have too much thicknes underneath, which maketh the waight not[3] to any profit, but rather hurt: which if it were whole and thin[4] underneath, having

[1] Orig. Dutch: "which it should accompany".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "to remove".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "but it is not".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "gheheel ende gants dun" (wholly thin).

outwardly all other perfections, it were as much worth[1] with his whole depth, which is 46. duckets being of one Quilate: so that when you have any of these you shall deale with them, as with the other, that is to consider, what they may be worth, being of one Quilate, and make your reckoning as with the others aforesaid.

The 90. Chapter.

Of the oriental & old Emeralds, for that those that are found in the Islandes of the Spanish Indies, are not yet [tried nor] resolved upon whether they be fine or not.

The old Iewellers say, that if a man can finde an Emerald perfect in al points, as in colour, clearenes, fashion, and thicknes, that such an Emerald is worth 3. Diamonds, which according to our account shold be 120. duckets, and I beleeve verily that it is most true, but as yet there was never any found, eyther little or great that had all those perfections, there are some found that are perfect in colour and fashion, but of clearenes and cleanenes not one, for they have alwaies some fattines within them like greene hearbs and such like, wherefore to make our reckoning, wee will say, that an Emerauld of common sort, estimation, and perfection, is worth 80. duckets, being of the bignes, as that hee may compare with[2] a Diamond of one Quilate: for although it have certaine greene hearbes within it, if they bee not too many it is neverthelesse esteemed perfect, having all the other perfections that it should have: therefore when you have an Emerald to value whether it be unground or a table, first you must consider the greatnes, and what waight a Diamond should bee that must compare with[2] it, then looke uppon the

[1] Here is omitted: "as a table that is thick".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "accompany".

faults or goodnes that it hath, and considering well what such an Emerald shold be worth, being no greater than a Diamond of one Quilate, you must make your account as with Rubies: which is, take the waight of the Diamond, whereunto you compare it, and multiplie that with as much more, and the production thereof, multiplie by the price that you have esteemed the one Quilate to be worth, and the production is the valew of such an Emerauld, and in the same sort shall you doe with all the Emerauldes you have to valew, whether they be great or small, good or bad, alwaies considering the faults or goodnesse it may have, and after that esteeme it, and set the price, and if there be half a Quilate or graines in the waight of the Diamond you compare it unto, then you must make your account by halves and graines, as I saide before of Diamondes and Rubies. When you will valew any stones, you must looke well upon them, and consider if it be a Diamond, of what water and fashion it is, if it hath all the depth and more, if it be foule or have anie other fault in the corners or in the squares, & what hurt or disadvantage it bringeth to the stone, that you deceive not your selfe in valuing the price it may be worth, beeing of one Quilate, thereby to make your reckoning as before: If it be a Rubie, marke well of what bignes it is, and what Diamond in waight it may be compared unto,[1] & rate it alwaies at lesse greatnes, rather then at more, that you deceive not your selfe and consider well what colour it hath: If there be any Cassedonia,[2] or uncleanesse, if it be thinne or have any other fault therein, or any want in the squarenes, & what hinderance those faultes may bee unto the stone, in the price, perfection, and greatnes of the Diamond wherunto you compare it, and looke you faile not herein, for if you do, you will cleane over shoote your selfe: likewise in setting the price

[1] Orig. Dutch: "accompany".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "if it has any Cassidonie", probably because of resemblance with the cassidony-stone *(Carbunculus carchedonius)*.

what it may bee worth being so great, as to compare with a Diamond of one Quilate, thereby to make your reckoning of the waight, that it maie weigh more or lesse. What I have saide of Rubies, you must likewise understand of Emeraulds that are Orientale, all after one sort[1] [and manner of reckoning]. There are other red stones called Espinelles, and [of] divers other sortes, whereof some are so perfect in their kinds, that they are like to Rubies, and this is to bee understood of the good and the best. There are others called Espinelles da Rouca Nova, or new Rocket: some of them have the colour of Rubies, others draw neere the colour of Iacinthes, and it is not knowne whether they be right Espinelles or not: for the good Iewellers esteeme them for no Espinelles, but for Rubasses, and Iacinthes, and so good that they are like to Espinelles: wherfore the stone grinders and Iewellers say, that they are Espinelles, because they would bee better paid for the fashion, and therefore they doe polish them with Espinell dust or polishing. These Espinelles in their polish are Espinelles, but in colour Rubasses, and Iacinthes, and there are manye Rubies, which to polish well, and grinde well, you had neede polish with the polish of Espinelles. If there be an Espinell of the old rocke, which in kind and qualitie is good, being perfect in all parts with a very good table,[2] and were to bee compared[3] with a Diamond of one Quilate, it would bee worth 40. duckets, but having any imperfections, every man may well consider what hurt and abate they may doe in the price, and after the same rate make his account as hee doth in Rubies; the Ballayeses[4] are likewise sold by waight, but not in that sort as Diamonds and

[1] Orig. Dutch: "more or less in the same manner".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "being a good polished table and in all parts perfect".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "accompanied".

[4] "Balaja (Sp.), Fr. rubis-balais, sorte de rubis de couleur de vin paillet, de l'arabe-persan balakhch" (Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 234).

Rubies, but they are esteemed according to the waight, that is the best Balayes that may be found being of one Quilate, may be worth ten duckets, and having any faults eyther in colour or other perfections, is of lesse valew, but beeing perfect as I said alreadie, it is worth ten duckets, and two Quilates twentie duckets, of three Quilates thirtie duckets, and so after the rate as it is, small or great, being of the waight it should bee, and beeing imperfect, every man of skill may well consider what it is worth, being of one Quilate, & esteeme it thereafter.

The 91. Chapter.

Of Orientale Pearles.

The Orientale Pearles are better then those of the Spanish Indies, and have great difference in the price: for they are worth more, and have a better glasse,[1] being clearer, and fairer. Those of the Spanish Indies commonly beeing darker & deader of colour: yet there are some found in the Portingall Indies, that are nothing inferiour[2] [to the Orientale Pearles] but they are very few: Now to valew them [as they shuld be,] I wil only set the good Pearles at a price. A Pearle that in all partes is perfect, both of water, glasse[1] and beautie without knobs,[3] of forme very round or proportioned like a pearle[4] without dents,[5] being of one Quilate is worth a ducket, and after this rate I will make my reckoning, as I doe with Diamonds, Rubies, and Emeraulds, and if there be any

[1] Orig. Dutch: "glans" (brightness).

[2] Orig. Dutch: "that give no advantage in fairness" (scil. above those of the Spanish Indies).

[3] Orig. Dutch: "putgiens" (little holes).

[4] Read: "pear".

[5] Orig. Dutch "rompelen" (wrinkles, rumples).

faults in the water, clearenes and fashion, or that it hath any knobs[1] or other defaults, it may well be considered what hurt it may bee unto the sale thereof, and according to the goodnes, or badnes valew the price therof: which having valewed, we must see what it weigheth, and then make the reckoning thereof, as with Diamonds, Rubies, & Emeraulds, & if there be a [whole] string or a chaine [full] of Pearles, you must looke well upon them, for where there are many, they are[2] not all alike: the greatest beeing the best, & the other after the rate, for the goodnes of the great wil beare the badnes of the smal: but if it be contrary, then the bargen is not [very] good. This shall suffice [for instruction] to such as desire to deale therewith, to have alwaies in their memorie,[3] and what herein is wanting for the better understanding and knowledge hereof, it may be supplied by true Iewellers and stone cutters that are skilfull in this point, and with these instructions can easily help,[4] [so that a man shall] not [need] wholly to put his trust in those, that for their owne profit will give them but bad counsell therein.

The 92. Chapter.

Of certaine memorable thinges[5] [passed] in India during my residence there.

In[6] the month of December, Anno, 1583. there arived in the towne and Island of Ormus foure Englishmen, which

[1] Orig. Dutch: "putgiens" (little holes).
[2] Orig. Dutch: "may be".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "to serve always for a memorial".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "one may easily help himself, in order".....
[5] Orig. Dutch: "histories".
[6] All the first part of this chapter, down to "going and comming that way", is, with a few corrections of orthography, reprinted in vol. ii, pp.

came from Aleppo in the countrie of Suria, having sayled out of England, and passed through the straightes of Gibraltar, to Tripoli a towne and Haven, lying on the sea coast of Suria, where all the shippes discharge their [wares, and] marchandises, and from thence are caryed by land unto Aleppo, which is nyne dayes iourney. In Aleppo there are resident [divers] marchants [and Factors] of all Nations, as Italians, Frenchemen, Englishmen, Armenians, Turkes, & Mores, everie man having his Religion apart,[1] paying tribute unto the great Turke. In that towne there is great trafficke, for that from thence, everie yeare [twyse,] there travelleth two Caffylen,[2] that is, companies[3] of people and Camelles, which travell unto India, Persia, Arabia, and all the countries bordering on the same, and deale in all sorts of marchandise, both to and from those Countries, as I in an other place have alreadie declared. Three of the said Englishmen aforesaide were sent by the Companie of Englishmen, [that are resident] in Aleppo, to see if in Ormus they might keepe any Factors, and so trafficke in that place, like as also the Italians doe, that is to say, the Venetians, which in Ormus, Goa and Malacca have their Factors, and trafficke there,[4] as well for stones and pearles, as for other wares and spices of those countries, which [from thence] are caryed over land into Venice. One of these Englishmen had beene once before in [the said towne of] Ormus, and there had taken good information of the

265-68, of Hakluyt's collection (1598) as, "The report of *Iohn Huighen van Linschoten* concerning M. *Newberries* and M. *Fitches* imprisonment, and of their escape, which happened while he was in *Goa*." It is an Appendix to *Fitch's Voyage* (pp. 250-65), which lasted from 1583 to 1591, or much about the same time as Linschoten's residence in India.—[B.]

[1] Orig. Dutch: "every body in his creed and law".

[2] *Caffylen, i.e.*, Cafilas, from the Arabic "qāfilah"= "une troupe de voyageurs, une caravane" (Dozy et Engelmann, *Glossaire*, p. 244).

[3] Orig. Dutch: "an armada".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "and a traffic of much importance".

trade, and upon his advise [and advertisement,] the other were [as then] come thether [with him], bringing great store of marchandises with them, as Clothes, Saffron, all kindes of [drinking] glasses,[1] knives, and such like stuffe, [and] to conclude, [brought with them] all kinde of small wares that may be devised. And although those wares amounted unto great summes of money, notwithstanding it was but onlie a shadow or colour,[2] thereby to give no occasion to be mistrusted, [or seen into]: for that their principall intent was to buy great quantities of precious Stones, as Diamantes, Pearles, Rubies, &c. to the which ende they brought with them a great summe of money and Gold, and that verie secretly, [not to be deceyved or robbed thereof],[3] or to runne into anie danger for the same. They being thus [aryved] in Ormus, hyred a Shop, and began to sell their wares: which the Italians perceyving, whose Factors continue there (as I sayd before) and fearing that those Englishmen, finding good vent for their commodities in that place wold be resident therein, and so daylie increase, which would be no small losse and hinderance unto them, did presently invent all the subtile meanes they could, to hinder them: and to that end they went unto the Captaine of Ormus, as then called Don Gonsalo de Meneses, telling him that there were certaine Englishmen come into Ormus, that were sent only to spy the Country, and said further, that they were Heretickes: and therefore they sayd it was convenient they should not be suffered [so] to depart, without beeing examined, and punished [as enemies,] to the example of others. The Captaine being a friend unto the Englishmen, by reason that one of them which had bene there before, had given him certaine presents, would not be perswaded to trouble them, but shipped them with all their

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "and little wares, as looking-glasses".....
[2] Orig. Dutch: "bedecksel" (pretext).
[3] Orig. Dutch: "not to suffer any damage".

wares[1] in a Shippe that was to sayle for Goa, and sent them to the Viceroy, that he might examine and trye them, as hee thought good: where when they were aryved, they were cast into prison, and first examined whether they were good Christians [or no]: and because they could speake but bad Portugale, onlie two of them spake good Dutche, as having bene certaine yeares in the lowe Countries, and there traffiqued, there was a Dutch Iesuite borne in the towne of Brigges[2] in Flaunders, that had bin resident in the Indies for the space of thirty yeares,[3] sent unto them, to [undermine and] examine[4] them: wherein they have behaved themselves so wel, that they were holden[5] [& esteemed] for good and Catholick Romish Christians: yet still suspected, because they were strangers, specially Englishmen. The Iesuites stil told them that they shuld be sent prisoners into Portingal, wishing them [to leave off their trade of marchandise &] to become Iesuites, promising them thereby to defend them from all trouble: the cause why they [said so, and] perswaded them in that earnest manner was, for that the Dutch Iesuite had secretlie bene advertised of great summes of money which they had about them, and sought to get the same into their fingers, for that the first vowe and promise [they make at their entrance into][6] their order, is, to procure the welfare of their said order, by what means soever it be, but although the Englishmen denyed them, and refused the order, saying, that they were unfit for such places, neverthelesse they proceed so farre that one of them, being a painter, (that came with the other three for company to see the countries, and to seeke his fortune, and was not sent thether by the English

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "in custody and good preservation".
[2] Brugge (Bruges).
[3] Newbery (*Hakluyt*, ii, p. 243) calls him "Padre Marke".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "..... and confess".....
[5] Orig. Dutch: "absolved".
[6] Orig. Dutch: "of".

marchants[1]) partly for feare, and partlie for want of meanes [to relieve himselfe], promised them to become a Iesuite: and although they knew [and well perceived] he was not any of those that had the treasure, yet because he was a Painter, whereof they are but few in India, and that they had great need of him to paint their church, which otherwise would cost them great charges, to bring one from Portingal, they were [very] glad [thereof], hoping in time to get the rest of them with all their money [into their fellowship]: so yt. to conclude, they made this Painter a Iesuite, where he continued certain daies giving him good store of worke to doe, and entertayning him with all the favour and friendship they could devise, and all to win the rest, to be a pray for them: but the other three continued stil in prison, being in great feare, because they understood no man that came to them, nor anie man almost knew what they said: till in the end it was told them that certaine Dutch men dwelt in the Archbishops house, & counsell given them to send unto them, whereat they much reioiced, and sent to me and an other Dutch man,[2] desiring us once to come and speake with them, which we presentlie did, and they with teares in their eyes made complaint unto us of their hard usage,[3] [shewing us] from point to point (as it is said before) [why they were come into the countrie withall] desiring us [for Gods cause], if we might [by any means,] to helpe them, that they might be set at liberty upon Sureties, being readie[4] to indure what Iustice should ordaine for them,[5] saying that if it were found contrarie, and that they were other then travelling marchants, and[6] sought to find out [further] benefite by their wares, they

[1] Orig. Dutch: "by the company".
[2] His name was Bernardt Burcherts, born at Hamburg. See p. 175.
[3] Orig. Dutch: "of all the matter".
[4] Orig. Dutch: (add) "..... if they were in anything to blame".
[5] Orig. Dutch: (add) "..... and justify themselves".
[6] Orig. Dutch: "that".

would be content to be punished. With that wee departed from them promising them to do our best: and in the ende we obtained so much of the Archbishoppe, that he went unto the Vice-roy to delyver our petition, and perswaded him so well, that hee was content to set them at libertie, and that their goods shuld be delivered unto them again, upon condition they should put in sureties for 2000. Pardawes, not to depart the countrie before other order should bee taken with them. Therupon they presently found a Citizen[1] of the towne, yt. was their suretie for 2000. Pardawes, where they paide him in hand 1300. Pardawes, and because they say they had no more ready monie, he gave them credite, seeing what store of marchandise they had, whereby at all times if neede were, hee might bee satisfied: and by that meanes they were delivered out of prison, and hyred [themselves] a house, and began to set open shoppe: So that they uttered much ware, and were presently well knowne [among all the Marchants,] because they alwaies respected Gentlemen, specially such as brought[2] their wares, shewing great curtesie and honor unto them, whereby they wonne much credite, and were beloved of all men, so that everie man favoured them, and was willing to doe them pleasure. To us they shewed great friendship, for whose sake, the Archbishop favoured them much, and shewed them verie good countenance, which they knew wel how to increase,[3] by offering him many presents, although hee would not receive them, neither would ever take gift or present at any mans hands. Likewise they behaved themselves verie Catholikely and [verie] devoute, everie day hearing Masse with Beades in their hands, so that they fel into so great favour, that no man caried an evill eye, no nor an evill thought towards them. Which liked not the Iesuites, because it hindered them from that they hoped for, so that they ceased

[1] Orig. Dutch: "one of the principal citizens".
[2] Read: "bought".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "to requite".

not still by this Dutch Iesuite to put them in feare, that they should bee sent into Portingall to the King, counselling them to yeeld them selves [Iesuits] into their Cloyster, which if they did, he said they would defend them from all [in troubles,] saying further, that he counselled them therein as friend, and one that knew for certaine that it was determined by the Viceroyes privie Counsell: which to effect he saide they stayed but for shipping that should sayle for Portingall, with divers other perswasions, to put them in some feare, & so to effect their purpose. The English men [to the contrarie,] durst not say any thing to them,[1] but answered, that as yet they would stay a while, and consider thereof, thereby putting the Iesuites in good comfort,[2] as one among them, being the principal of them (called John Nuberye) complained unto me often times, saying. hee knew not [what to say or thinke therein, or] which way he might be rid of those troubles: but in the ende they determined with themselves, to depart from thence, and secretly by means of contrarie[3] friends, they imployed their money in precious stones, which the better to effect, one of them was a Ieweller,[4] and for the same purpose[5] came with them. Which being concluded among them, they durst not make knowne to any man, neither did they credite us so much, [as to shewe us their minds therein,] although they tolde us all whatsoever they knew.[6] But on a Whitsunday they went abroad to sport themselves about three miles from Goa, in the mouth of the ryver in a countrie called Bardes,[7] having with them good store of meate and drinke. And because they should not be suspected, they left their house and shop, with some wares

1 Orig. Dutch: "durst not wholly refuse them".
2 Orig. Dutch: "hope".
3 Orig. Dutch: "good".
4 Orig. Dutch: "steen-slyper" (polisher of precious stones).
5 Orig. Dutch: "who only for this purpose".
6 Orig. Dutch: "all their other secrets and purposes".
7 See p. 176 of vol. i.

therein unsolde, in custodie of a Dutch Boy, by us provided for them, that looked unto it. This Boye was in the house not knowing their intent, and being in Bardes, they had with them a Patamar,[1] which is one of the Indian postes, which in winter times caryeth letters from one place to the other, whom they had hyred to guide them: & because that betweene Bardes and the Firm land there is but a little ryver, [in manner] halfe drie, they passed over it on foote, and so travelled by land, being never heard of againe: but it is thought they arrived in Aleppo, as some say, but they knew not certainely.[2] Their greatest hope[3] was, that John Newbery could speake[4] the Arabian tongue, which is used in al those countries, or at the least understoode, for it is very common in all places there abouts, as French with us. Newes being come to Goa, there was a great stirre and murmuring among the people, and we much wondered at it: for many were of opinion, that wee had given them counsel so to doe, and presently their suertie seased upon the goods remaining, which might amount unto above[5] 200. Pardawes, and with that and the money he had received of the English mēn, he went unto the Viceroye, and delivered it unto him, which the Viceroy having received, forgave him the rest. This flight of the English men grieved the Iesuites most, because they had lost such a pray, which they made sure account of, whereupon the Dutch Iesuite came to us to aske us if we knew thereof, saying, that if he had suspected so much, he would have dealt otherwise, for that he said, hee once had in his hands of

[1] *Patamar* or *Pattimar* in modern usage is a kind of vessel on the W. coast. But in all the writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it is a foot-runner or courier, from Konkani, *pathmār*, a courier.—[Y.]

[2] They fled to Bijapur, and travelled from thence to Fattehpur, near Agra, where they stayed any time. In September 1585, Newbery returned by Lahore, Persia, etc.; but Fitch continued his travels through India, and returned by Basra and Aleppo in 1591.

[3] Orig. Dutch: "betrouwen" (trust, confidence).

[4] Orig. Dutch: "was a little acquainted with".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "in all".

theirs a bagge wherein was fortie thousand Veneseanders[1] (each Veneseander being two Pardawes[2]) which was when they were in prison. And that they had alwayes put him in comfort, to accomplish his desire, upon the which promise hee gave them their money againe, which otherwise they shoulde not so lightly have come by, or peradventure never, as hee openly said: and in the ende he called them hereticks, and spies, with a thousand other rayling speeches, which he uttered against them. The Englishman that was become a Iesuite, hearing that his companions were gone, and perceiving that the Iesuites shewed him not so great favour, [neither used him so well,] as they did at the first, repented himselfe, and seeing[3] he had not as then made any solemne promise, & being counselled to leave the house [& told] that he could not want a living in the towne, as also that the Iesuites could not keepe him there without he were willing to stay, for they could not accuse him of any thing: he told them flatly, that he had no desire to stay within the Cloyster, and although they used all the meanes they could to keepe him there, yet hee would not stay, but hyred a house without the Cloyster, and opened shop, where he had good store of worke, and in the end married a Mesticos daughter of the towne,[4] so that hee made his account, to stay there while he lived. By this Englishman I was instructed of al the waies, trades, and viages of the countrie, betweene Aleppo and Ormus, and of all the ordinances and common customes, which they usually hold during their Viage over land, as also of the places and

[1] Orig. Dutch: "Venetseanders", *i.e.*, ducats of Venice.

[2] *I.e.*, pardáos. See vol. i, p. 241. The partāb (*prātāp*) was a gold coin found current in India, and adopted by the Portuguese; but the latter coined silver *pardáos* of much smaller value, and the determination of a *pardáo* at different periods is difficult. If the *Venetseander* was a zecchin, those here in question must have been gold pardáos, which were worth about half a gold pagoda.—[Y.]

[3] Orig. Dutch: "as".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "a mestice or daughter born there".

townes wher they passed. And since those Englishmens departures from Goa, there never arrived any strangers either English or others by land in the sayde countries, but onely Italyans which daylye traffique over land, and use continuall trade going and comming that way.

About the same time there came into Goa from the Iland of Iapan, certaine Iesuites and with them, three Princes,[1] [being the] children of [certaine] Kings [of that country, wholly] apparelled like Iesuites, not one of them, above the age of sixteene yeares, being minded (by perswasions of the Iesuites), to travel into Portingall, and from thence to Rome to see the Pope, therby to procure great profit, priveledges, and liberties for the Iesuites, which was onely their intent: they continued in Goa, till the yeare 1584, and then set sayle for Portingall, and from thence travelled into Spaine, whereby the King and all the Spanish Nobilitie, they were with great honour received, and presented with [many] gifts, which the Iesuits kept for themselves. Out of Spaine they roade to [see] the Pope, where they obtained great priveledges and liberties, as in the description of the Iland of Iapen, I have in part declared. That done, they travelled throughout Italy, as to Venice, Mantua, Florence, and all other places and dominions[2] of Italy, wher they were presented with many rich presents, and much honoured, by meanes of the great report the Iesuites made of them. To conclude they returned againe unto Madril, where with great honor[3] they took their leave of the King, with letters of commendation in their behalfes unto the Viceroye, and all the Captaines and Governours of India, and so they went to Lisbone, and there tooke shipping in Anno. 1586, and came in the ship called Saint Philip (which in her returne to Portingall was taken by Captaine Drake): and after a long and troublesome Viage,

[1] See also above, p. 161 of vol. i.

[2] Orig. Dutch: "heerlyckheyden" ("lordships" or principalities).

[3] Orig. Dutch: "reverence".

arrived at Mosambique, where the ship received in her lading: out of an other shippe called the Saint Laurence, that had put in there, having lost her Mastes, being laden in India, and bound for Portingall, where the shippe was spoyled: and because the time was farre spent, to get into India, the said Saint Philip, tooke in the lading of Saint Laurence, and was taken in her way returning home, by the other Englishmen, as I saide before, and was the first ship that had beene taken comming out of the East Indies: which the Portingales tooke for an evill signe, because the ship bare the Kings owne name.[1] But returning to our matter, the Princes and Iesuites of Iapan, the next yeare after arrived at Goa with great reioycing and gladnesse, for that it was verily thought, they had all beene dead: when they came thether, they were all three apparelled in cloth of Golde and Silver, after the Italian manner, which was the apparell that the Italian Princes and Noblemen[2] had given them: they came thether very lively,[3] and the Iesuits verie proudly,[4] for that by them, their Viage had beene performed. In Goa they stayed till the Monson, or time of the windes came in to sayle for China, at which time they went [from] thence and so to [China, & thence unto] Iapon, where (with great triumph and wondering of all the people) they were received [and welcomed home,] to the furtherance and credite of the Iesuites, as the Booke[5] declareth, which they have written and set foorth, in the Spanish tongue concerning their Viage, as well by water &

[1] Orig. Dutch: "was named after the King of Spain".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "the Italian Lords".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "proud".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "with great presumption".

[5] First published in Italian: "Relazioni della venuta de gli ambasciatori Giaponesi à Roma, sino alla partita di Lisbona, etc. ... raccolte da Guido Gualtieri" (Roma, 1585). The Spanish translation ("Breve relacion del recibimiento que en España i en toda Italia se hiço a tres embajadores", etc.) was published at Seville in 1586. See Léon Pagès, *Bibliographie Japonaise*, p. 5.

by land, as also of the intertainment that they had in everie place.

In the yeare 1584, in the month of Iune, there arrived in Goa many Ambassadours, as of Persia, Cambaia, and from Samorijn, which is called the Emperour, of the Malabares, and also from the King of Cochin: and among other thinges there was a peace concluded by the Samorijn & the Malabares, with the Portingall,[1] upon condition[2] that the Portingales should have a Fort, upon a certaine Haven lying in the coast of Malabare, called Panane, ten miles from Calecut, which was presently begun to bee built, and there with great costs [and charges] they [raysed and] erected a Fort, but because the ground is all Sandie, they could make no sure foundation, for it sunk continually, wherby they found it best to leave it, after they had spent in making [and keeping] thereof at the least foure tunnes of Gold, and reaped no profit thereof, onely thinking thereby if the Samorijn should breake his word [and come foorth] (as oftentimes hee had done) that by meanes of that Haven, they would keep him in where he should have no place to come abroad, to doe them any more mischiefe. But seeing that the Samorijn had many other havens and places, from whence they might put foorth to worke them mischiefe, and as much as ever they did, although the Samorijn protesteth not to know of it, as also that he could not let it, saying that they were Sea rovers, and were neither subiect unto him, nor any man else, they left their Fort,[3] and put no great trust in the Malabares, as being one of the most rebellious and trayterous[4] nations in all the Indies, and make many a traveling Marchant poore, by reason the Sea coast is made by them so dangerous and

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "which always had been their mortal enemies".

[2] The conditions are mentioned by Couto, *Da Asia*, Dec. X, Livro IV, cap. xi.

[3] Orig. Dutch: "Panane".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "cruellest".

perilous to sayle by: for the which cause the Portingales armie by Sea is yearely sent foorth out of Goa, onely to cleare the coast of them, yet are there[1] many Malabares in divers places, which by roving and stealing doe much mischiefe [in the Countrie], both by water and by land, which keepe themselves on the Sea side, where they have their creekes to come forth, and to carie their prises in to hide them [in the countrie]. They dwell in straw houses upon stonie hilles, and rocks not inhabited,[2] so that (to conclude) they can not be overcome, neither doe they care for Samorijns, nor any man else. There is a Haven belonging to these ryvers,[3] distant from Goa about twelve miles, and is called Sanguiseo,[4] where many of those Rovers dwell, and doe so much mischiefe that no man can passe by, but they receive some wrong by them, so that there came dayly complaints unto the Viceroye, who as then was named Don Francisco Mascharenhas, Earle of Villa Dorta,[5] who to remedie the same sent unto the Samorijn, to will him to punish them: who returned the messenger againe with answere, that he had no power over them, neither yet could commaund them, as being subiect to no man, and gave the Viceroy free libertie to punish them at his pleasure, promising that he should have his aide therein.

Which the Viceroy understanding, prepared an armie of fifteen Foists, over whom he made chiefe Captaine a Gentleman, his nephew called Don Iulianes Mascharenhas,[6] giving him expresse commandement first to goe unto the Haven of Sanguiseu, & utterly to raze the same downe to the ground,

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "without that". The meaning is: "without those Malabares that act in the service of the Samorijn or in connivency with him".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "near stony rocks and mountains which are inhabitable".

[3] Read: "rovers".

[4] To the south of Dabul. Couto calls it "Sanguicer".

[5] He became viceroy in 1581.

[6] See on this expedition: Couto, Dec. X, Livro v, cap. vii.

which to effect, this fleete being at Sea, and comming to the said Haven, the Admirall of the fleete asked counsel what was best to be done, because Sanguiseu is an Iland lying within the coast, the ryver running about it, with many Cliffes & shallowes in the entrance, so that at a low water men can hardly enter in. At the last they appointed that the Admirall with halfe the fleete should put in on the one side, and the Vice Admirall called Ioan Barriga, with the other halfe should enter on the other side, which being concluded among them, the Admiral entred first, commaunding the rest to follow, and rowed even to the Firme land, thinking they had come after: but the other Captaines that were all young Gentlemen and unexperienced, began to quarell among themselves, who should be first or last, [whereby the fleete was seperated &][1] some [lay] in one place, some in an other, upon the droughts and shalowes, [and could not stirre], so that they coulde not come to helpe the Admirall, neither yet stirre backward nor forwards. And when the Vice Admirall should have put in on the other side, the Captains that were with him would not obay him, saying he was no Gentleman, and that they were his betters, uppon these and such like points, most of the Portingals enterprises doe stand, and[2] are taken in hand [whereby most commonly they receive the overthrow and by the same meanes this fleete was likewise spoyled, and could not helpe themselves][3]: which those of Sangueseu perceiving, having forsaken their houses, and being on the toppes of the hilles, and seeing that the Foistes lay without, one seperated from the other upon the Cliffes and shallowes not being able to put off, and that the Admirall lay alone uppon the Strand, and coulde not stirre, they tooke

[1] Orig. Dutch: "in which time the tide turned, so that they stranded".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "which everywhere".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "and so these remained also at difference, and could bring about nothing".

courage, and in great number set uppon the Admirals Foiste, and put them all to the sword, except such as saved themselves by swimming. And although the Admirall might well have saved himselfe, for that a slave profered to beare him on his back, yet he would not, saying, that he had rather die honourably fighting against his enemie, then to save his life with dishonour, so that he defended himselfe most valiantly. But when they came so many upon him, that hee coulde no longer resist them, they slew him, & being dead, cut off his head, in presence of all ye other Foistes: which done they stucke the head upon a Pike, crying in mocking unto the other Portingales, come and fetch your Captaine againe, to their no little shame and dishonour, that in the meane time looked one upon an other like Owles. In the ende they departed from thence [with the fleete][1] everie man severally by themselves, like sheep without a shepheard, and so returned againe into Goa, with that great victorie. The Captaines were presently committed to prison, but each man excusing himselfe,[2] were all discharged againe, great sorrowe being made for the Admirall, specially by the Viceroy, because hee was his brothers sonne, and much lamented by every man, as being a man verie well beloved, for his courteous and gentle behaviour:[3] the other Captaines to the contrarie being much blamed, as they well deserved. Presently thereupon they made ready an other armie with other Captaines, whereof Don Ieronimo Mascharenhas was Admirall,[4] being cousin to the foresaid Admirall deceased, to revenge his death. This fleete set foote on land, [and] withall their power [entred among the houses] but the Sangueseans perceiving them to come, that purposely watched for them, fled into the mountaines, leaving their strawe houses emptie: whether

[1] Orig. Dutch: "met de vloet" (the tide returning).
[2] Orig. Dutch: "but they alleged their innocence, and in the end"...
[3] Orig. Dutch: "for his virtuous character".
[4] See Couto, Dec. X, Livro VI, cap. iv, v.

they could not be followed, by reason of the wildnesse of the place, whereupon the Portingales burnt their houses, and cut down their trees, rasing al things to the ground, with the which distruction they departed thence no man resisting them.[1]

At the same time the rulers of Cochijn by commandement of the Viceroy began to set up a custome house in the towne, which till that time had never beene there: for the which cause the inhabitants rose up, & would have slaine them, that went about it.[2] Whereupon they left it off, till such time as the new Viceroy came out of Portingall, called Don Duarede Meneses,[3] and with the old Viceroy assembled a counsell in Cochijn, where the government was delivered unto him: and there he used such meanes, that by fair words [and intreatie] they erected their custome house, and got the townes mens good will, but more by compulsion then otherwise. Which custome is a great profit to the King, by meanes of the traffique there[in] used, because there the Portingall ships doe make themselves ready, with their full lading to sayle from thence to Portingall.

The same yeare in the month of September there arrived in Goa, a Portingal ship, called ye Dom[4] Iesus de Carania, that broght newes of foure ships more, that were on the way, with a new Viceroy called Don Duarte de Meneses: which caused great ioye throughout the Cittie, and al the Bels being rung as the manner is, when the first ship of everie fleete arriveth [in Goa] out of Portingall. In that ship came certaine Canoniers being Netherlanders, that broughte me letters out of Holland, which was no small comfort unto me. Not long after in the same month there arrived an other ship called Boa Viagen, wherein were many Gentlemen, and

[1] Orig. Dutch: "without damaging anybody".

[2] See Couto, Dec. X, Livro IV, cap. xiii.

[3] Dom Duarte de Menezes came to Cochin in November 1584. See p. 174.

[4] Read: Bom.

Knights of the Crosse; that came to serve the King in India: among which was one of my Lord Archbishops brethren, called Roque da Fonseca, the other Lords[1] were Don Iorgie Tubal de Meneses, chiefe standerd bearer to the King of Portingal, new chosen Captaine of Soffala, and Mosambique, in regard of certain service that he had in times past done for the king in India. Iohn Gomes da Silva newe Captaine of Ormus: Don Francesco Mascharenhas brother of Don Iulianes Mascharenhas, that was slaine in Sanguiseu, as I said before, hee was to have had the Captaines place of Ormus, but by meanes of his death, it was given unto his brother Don Francesco, for the tearme of three yeares, after he that is in it[2] had served his[3] full time.

In November after, the other three ships arrived in Cochin, and had sayled on the out side of Saint Laurence Iland, not putting into Mosambique. The ships names were Santa Maria, Arreliquias, and the Admiral, As Chagas, or the five wounds. In her came the Viceroy Don Duarte de Meneses that had been Captaine of Tanger in Africa, or Barbarie: and in this ship there were 900. Souldiers and Gentlemen, that came to safe conduct the Viceroy, besides the saylers that were above 100. and had beene above seven months upon the way, without taking land before they arrived at Cochin, wher they received the Viceroy with great solemnitie: and being landed he sent presently unto the olde Viceroye [to certifie him of his arrivall, and] that hee should commit the government [of the countrie] unto the Archbishoppe, to governe it in his absence, specially because the Archbishop & hee were verie good friends, and old acquaintance, having beene prisoners together in Barbarie when Don Sebastian King of Portingall was slaine:[4] which the old

[1] Orig. Dutch: "principal Lords".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "after those that were provided with it before him".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "their".
[4] See p. 8 of vol. i.

Viceroy presently did, and went by Sea unto Cochijn, that he might returne into Portingall with the same ships, as the Viceroyes use to do, for that after their time of Government is out, they may not stay any longer in India.

The 10. of November Anno 1584, the ship called Carania went from Goa to Cochijn, there to take in Pepper, and other wares: and then doe all the Factors goe into Cochijn, to lade their wares, and when the ships are laden and readie to depart, they returne againe to Goa, wher they stil remaine. In that shippe the olde Viceroye with many Gentlemen sayled to Cochijn. The fifth of Februarie Anno 1585, the Viceroy Don Duarte de Meneses, arrived in Goa, where with great triumph and feasting hee was received.

In the month of Aprill the same yeare my fellow (and servant to the Archbishop) called Barnard Burcherts, borne in Hamborough[1] travelled from Goa unto Ormus: and from thence to Bassora, and from thence by lande through Babilon,[2] Ierusalem, Damasco, and Aleppo: from whence he sent me two leters, by an Armenian, wherein hee certified me of all his Viage which he performed with small charges, and lesse danger, in good fellowship, and verie merrie[3] in the companie of the Caffyles. From Aleppo he went to Tripoli in Suria, and there hee found certaine ships for England, wherein he sayled to London, and from thence to Hamborough, which by letters from him written out of Hamborough I understoode.

In the month of August, there came letters from Venice by land, that brought newes of the death and murther of the Prince of Orange, [a man] of honourable memorie,[4] as also of the death of Mons. the Duke of Alenson, or Aniou,[5] with

[1] Hamburg.

[2] Orig. Dutch: "Babylonia".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "freely".

[4] This took place the 10th of July 1584.

[5] The 10th of June 1584. He had been a short time sovereign of the revolted Dutch provinces.

the mariage of the Duke of Savoy to the King of Spaines daughter.[1]

The 20. of October, there arrived in Goa the ship called the S. Francis, that came out of Portingal, & with it came also some Dutch Canoniers, that brought mee letters out of my countrie, with newes of my father Hugh Ioosten of Harlems death. The first of November after, arrived at Cochijn, the Saint Alberto [that came from Portingal]. And the first of December [that yeare] there arrived in Cananor upon the coast of Malabar the ship called the Saint Laurence, and from thence came to Goa, most of her men being sicke & above 90. of them dead, having indured great miserie,[2] and not once put into land. At that time ther wanted two of the fleete that came from Lisbone in companie with her, & they were the S. Salvator, and the Admirall S. Iago, whereof they could heare no newes.

At the same time there came certaine Italians by land into Goa, and brought newes of the death of Pope Gregorie the 13.[3] and of the election of the new Pope called Sixtus. At that time also the ships that came from Portingall sayled to Cochijn[4] to take in their lading: which done, in the month of Ianuarie Anno 1586 they sayled for Portingall.

In the month of May Anno 1586, letters were brought into Goa, from the Captaine of Soffala and Mosambique unto the Viceroy and the Archbishop, to certifie them of the casting away of the Admiral Saint Iago, that set out of Portingall the yeare before being Anno 1585, whereof I spake before, she was cast away in this manner. The ship being come with a good speedy winde and wether, from the Cape de Bona Speranza, neere to Mosambique, they had passed

[1] Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, married Catherine of Austria, daughter of Philip II, King of Spain, the 11th of March 1585.

[2] Cfr. note 1, on p. 23 of vol. i.

[3] This took place the 10th of April 1585.

[4] Orig. Dutch: "and along the coast of Malabar".

(as they thought) all dangers, so that they needed not to feare any thing: yet it is good for the Master & others to be careful and keepe good watch, and not to stand too much upon their owne cunning & conceites,[1] as these did, which was the principal cause of their casting away, [and] so they sayled betweene the Iland Saint Laurence and the Firme land, that runneth by the coast to Mosambique, which lyeth on the left hand, betweene the which Iland and the fast land, there are certain shallowes called the India,[2] fiftie Spanish miles distant from the Iland of S. Laurence, and seventie miles from the Firme land, right against the countrie of Soffala, under 22. degrees ½ on the South side of the Equinoctiall, and from thence to Mosambique is 90. miles. Those shallowes are most of cleare Corale, verie sharpe, both of blacke, white, and greene colour, which is verie dangerous: therefore it is good reason they should shunne them, and surely the Pilots ought to have great care, specially such as are in the Indian ships, for that the whole ship [and safetie thereof] lyeth in their hands, and is onely ruled by them, and that by expresse commaundement from the King, so that no man may contrary them. They being thus betweene the lands, and by all ye Saylors iudgements hard by the drowthes of India,[2] the Pilot tooke the height of the Sunne, and made his account that they were past the shallowes, commaunding the Master to make all the sayle hee could, and freely to sayle to Mosambique, without any let or stay. And although there were divers Saylors in the shippe, that likewise had their Cardes,[3] some to learne, other for their pleasures,[4] as divers Officers,[5] the Master, and the chiefe Boatwayne, [that]

[1] Orig. Dutch: "their own knowledge".
[2] Read: "Judia" (now: Europa shoals).
[3] Orig. Dutch: "charts and instruments".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "from curiosity".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "and also the other officers as".....

said it was better to keepe alooffe,[1] specially by night, and [that it would be good] to hold good watch, for yt. they found they had not as then past the shallowes: yet the Pilot saide the contrary, and would needes shew that he only had skill, and power to commaunde: (as commonly the Portingales by pride do cast themselves away, because they wil folow no mans counsell, and be under no mans subiection, specially when they have authoritie) as[2] it happened to this Pilot, that would heare no man speake, nor take any counsell but his owne, & therefore commaunded that they should doe as he appointed them, whereupon they hoysted all their sayles, & sayled in that sort till it was midnight, both with good wind & faire wether, but the Moone not shining, they fell full upon the Shallowes, being of cleare white Corall, and so sharpe, that with the force of wynd and water that drave the shippe upon them, it cut the shippe in two peeces, as if it had been sawed in sunder: so that the keele and two Oarlops lay still upon the ground, and the upper part being driven somewhat further, at the last stuck fast, the maste being also broken, wherewith you might have heard so great a crie, that all the aire did sound therewith,[3] for that in the shippe, (being Admiral) there was at the least fyve hundreth persons, among the wich were 30. women, with manie Iesuites and Fryers, so that as then there was nothing else to bee done, but [every man] to shrifte,[4] bidding each other farewel, and asking al men forgiveness with weeping and crying, as it may well be thought. The Admirall called Fernando de Mendosa, the Maister, the Pylot, and ten or twelve more, presentlie entred into the small boate, keeping it with naked Rapiers, that no more should enter, saying they would goe see, if there were

[1] Orig. Dutch: "said altogether it should be better to keep in the sails a little".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "so".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "that the Heaven seemed to split asunder".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "to confess".

anie drie place in the shallowes, whereon they might worke, to make a Boate of the peeces of the broken shippe, therein to sayle unto the shore, and so to save their lives, wherewith they put them that were behind in some [small] comfort, but not much. But when they had rowed about, and finding no drie place, they durst not returne againe unto the shippe, least the boate would have beene overladen, and so drowned, and in the Shippe they looked for no helpe, wherefore in fyne they concluded to row to land, having about 12. boxes[1] of Marmalade, with a pipe of wine, and some Bisket, which in hast they had thrown into the boat, which they dealt among them, as need required, and so commending themselves to God, they rowed forwardes towards the coast, and after they had beene 17. daies upon the sea, they fell with great hunger, thirst and labor on the land, [where they saved themselves]. The rest that stayed in the ship, seeing the boate came not againe, it may wel be thought what case they were in. At the last one side of the upper part of the ship, between both the upper Oarlops, where the great boat lay, burst out, and the Boate being halfe burst, began to come forth: but because there was small hope [to be had] and [fewe of them had] little will[2] [to prove masteryes,] no man layd hand thereon, but everie man sate looking one upon an other. At the last an Italian, called Cyprian Grimoaldo, rose up, and taking courage unto him, sayd, why are we thus abashed. Let us seeke to helpe our selves, and see if there be any remedie to save our lives: wherewith presentlie he leapt into the boat, with an instrument[3] [in his hand], and began to make it cleane, whereat some [others] began to take courage, and to helpe him as well as they could, with such things as first came to their handes: so that in the end there leaped at the least foure score and ten persons into it, and

[1] Orig. Dutch: "some boxes".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "courage".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "with his arms".

many hung by the handes uppon the boat swimming after it: among the which were some women: but because they would not sinke the boate, they were forced to cut off the [fingers,] handes, and armes of such as held thereon, [and let them fall into the sea,] and manie they threw over bord, being such as had not wherewith to defend themselves.[1] Which done they set forwards, committing themselves to God, with the greatest cry and pitifullest noyse [that ever was heard,] as though heaven and earth had gone together,[2] when they tooke their leave of such as stayed in the shippe. In which manner having rowed[3] certaine dayes, [and having but small store of victuals,][4] for that they were so manie in the boate, that it was readie to sinke, it being likewise verie leake, and not able to hold out:[5] in the ende they agreed among themselves to chuse a Captaine, [to whome they would obey, and doe as he commanded: and among the rest they chose] a gentleman, [a] Mestico of India, and swore to obey him: hee presentlie commanded to throwe some of them over bord, such as at that tyme had least meanes [or strength] to helpe themselves: among the which there was a Carpenter, that had not long before, holpen to dresse the boate, whoe seeing that the Lot fell upon him, desired them to give him a peece of Marmalade and a Cuppe of wine, which when they had done, he willingly suffered himselfe to bee throwne over bord into the Sea, and so was drowned. There was an other of those, that in Portingale are called New Christians:[6] he being allotted to be cast over bord into the Sea, had a younger Brother in the same Boate, that [sodainelie] rose up and desired the Captaine that hee would pardon and make free

[1] Orig. Dutch: "as had no arms".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "got down".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "sailed".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "..... with sharp partition of meat and drink, they advanced little".....

[5] Orig. Dutch: "and badly repaired".

[6] "New Christian", *i.e.*, a converted Jew or Muhammadan.

his Brother, and let him supplie his place, saying, My Brother is older and of better knowledge[1] in the world then I, [and therefore more fit to live in the world, and] to helpe my sisters [and friendes] in their need: so that I had rather die for him, then to live without him. At which request they let the elder Brother loose, and threwe the younger at his owne request into the sea, that swomme at the least sixe howers after the boate. And although they held up their hands[2] with naked rapiers [willing him] that hee shuld not [once] come to [touch] the Boate, yet laying hold thereon,[3] and having his hand half cut in two, he would not let go: so, that in the end they were constrained to take him in againe: both the which brethren I knew,[4] and have bene in company with them: in this miserie and paine they were 20. daies at sea, & in the end got to land, where they found the Admiral and those that were in the other boate. Such as stayed in the ship, some tooke bords, deals, and other peeces of wood; & bound them together (which ye Portingals cal Iangadas)[5] every man what they could catch, all hoping to save their lives, but of all those there came but two men safe to shore. They that before had taken land out of the boates having escaped that danger, fell into an other, for [they had no sooner set foote on shore, but] they were by the Mores[6] called Caffares, Inhabitants of that country, spoiled of al their cloathes, for yt. they left not so much upon their bodies as would hide their privie members: whereby they indured great hunger and miserie wt. manie other mischieffes, which would be over tedious to rehearse. In the end they came unto a place, where they found a factor of the Captain[s] of Soffala & Mosambique, & he holp them as he might, and

1 Orig. Dutch: (add) "and more useful".
2 Orig. Dutch: "they hew at his hands".
3 Orig. Dutch: "yet he grasped a rapier".
4 Orig. Dutch: (add) "in Goa".
5 "Jangadas", *i.e.*, the Malayālam word *Sangāḍa* = raft.—[B.]
6 Orig. Dutch: "black".

made means to send them unto Mosambique, and from thence they went into India, where I knew manie of them, and have [often] spoken with them. Of those that were come safe to shore, some of them died before they got to Mosambique, so that in all, they were about 60. persons that saved themselves: all the rest were drowned & smothered in the ship, & there was never other newes of ye ship [then as you have heard]. Hereby you may consider the pride of this Pilot who because he would be counselled by no man, cast away that ship with so many men: wherefore a Pilot ought not to have so great authority, that in time of need he should reiect [and not heare] the counsell of such as are most skilfull.[1] The Pilote, when he came into Portingale, was committed to prison, but by gifts and presents he was let loose and an other shippe, beeing the best of the Fleet, that went for India, in Anno 1588, committed unto him, not without great curses [and evill wordes] of the Mothers, Sisters, wives and Children of those that perished in the ship, which all cryed vengeance on him: and comming with the ship wherein he then was placed, called the S. Thomas, he had almost laid her on ye same place, where the other was cast away: but day comming on, they rowde themselves off, and so escaped: yet in their voiage homeward to Portingal, the same shippe was cast away by the Cape de Bona Speranza, with the Pilot and all her men, whereby much speech arose, saying it was a iust iudgement of God against him for making so many widdowes and fatherles children, wherof I will speake in another place. This I thought good to set downe at large, because men might see that many a shippe is cast away by the headinesse of the governours, and unskilfulnesse of the pilotes: wherefore it were good to examine the persons before a shippe be committed unto them, [specially a shippe] of such a charge, and wherein consisteth the welfare [or undo-

[1] Orig. Dutch: "that in time of need the counsel of the majority should be rejected".

ing] of so many men, together with their lives, and impoverishing of so many a poore wife and child: this losse happened in the month of August An. 1585.

'In May An. 1586 two ships laden with ware set saile out of the haven of Chaul, in India, that belonged unto certaine Portingalles inhabitantes of Chaul, the owners being in them: those shippes should have sayled to the straites of Mecca, or the redde sea, where the said marchantes used to traffique: but they were taken on the sea by [two] Turkish Galleyes, that had beene made in the innermost partes of the straites of Mecca, by Cairo, on the corner of the redde sea, in a towne called Sues: the sayde Galleyes began to doe great mischiefe, & put all the Indian merchants in great feare.

The same month there was a great army prepared in Goa, both of Fustes and gallies, such as in many yeares had not beene seene, and was appointed to saile to the red sea,[1] to drive the Turkish Galleyes away, or els to fight with them,[2] if they could: they were [also] commanded by the Viceroy to winter[3] [their shippes] in Ormus, and then to enter into the straights of Persia, lying behind Ormus, and to offer their service to Xatamas[4] K. of Persia against the Turke their common enemy, thereby to trouble him on all sides, if they had brought their purpose to effect: but it fel out otherwise, as hereafter you shall heare: for Chiefe of this army, there was appointed a Gentleman, named Rioy Gonsalves da Camara, who once had beene Captaine of Ormus, being a very fatte and grosse man, which was one of the chiefe occasions of their evill fortune, and with him went the principallest soldiers and gentlemen of [all] India; thinking to

[1] See on this expedition: Couto, Dec. X, Livro VII, cap. vii, xv-xviii.

[2] Orig. Dutch: "to defeat them".

[3] Orig. Dutch: (add) "after that".

[4] *I.e.*, Shah Tamasp. He died, however, in 1574, and his successor, Mohammed Khodabendeh, in 1585. The youngest son of this emperor, after having killed his two elder brothers, ascended the throne in 1586. He became famous as Abbas the Great.

winne great honor thereby: this army being ready & minding to sayle to the redde sea, they found many calmes upon the way, so that they indured much miserie, and begunne to die like dogges, as well for want of drinke as other necessaries: for they had not made their account to stay so long upon the way, which is alwaies their excuse if any thing falleth out contrary to their mindes: this was their good beginning, and [as it is thought] a preparative to further mischiefe: for comming to the redde sea, at the mouth thereof they met the Turkish Gallies, where they had a long fight, but in the end the Portingals had the overthrow, & escaped as well as they might, with great dishonour,[1] and [no little] losse: and the Turkes being victorious, sayled to the coast of Abex or Melinde, where they tooke certaine townes, as Pate[2] and Braua,[3] that as then were in league with the Portingalles, there to strengthen themselves, and thereby to reape a greater benefit, by indamaging[4] the Portingall, and lying under their noses. The Portingall armie having spedde in this manner went unto Ormus, there to winter [themselves,] and [in the meane time] to repaire their armie, and to heale their sicke soldiers, whereof they had many: and so when time served to fulfill the Viceroyes commandment in helping Xatamas, thinking by that meanes to recover their losses: being arived in Ormus, and having repaired their Fustes,[5] & the time comming on, the General by reason of his fatnes and corpulent bodie stayed in Ormus, appointing Lieuetenant in his place, one called Pedro Homen Pereira, (who although he was but a meane gentleman, yet was hee a very good soldier, and of great experience) commanding them to obey him in all things, as if he were there in person himselfe: giving them in charge, [as they sailed along the coast] to land upon the coast of Arabia, there to punish certain

[1] Orig. Dutch: "damage". [2] Patta. [3] Barawa.
[4] Orig. Dutch: "and so to have better commodity for damaging".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "having taken provisions".

pirates, that held in a place called Nicola,[1] and spoiled such as passed to and fro upon the seas, and did great hurt to the ships and marchants of Bassora, that traffiqued in Ormus, whereby the trafique [to the saide towne of Ormus] was much hindered, to the great losse and undoing of many a marchant.[2] With this commission they set forwarde with their Lieuetenant, and being come to Nicola, where they ran their fustes on shore, so that they lay halfe dry upon the sand: every man in generall leaped on land, without any order of battaile, as in all their actions they use to doe: which the Lieuetenant perceiving, would have used his authoritie, and have placed them in order, as in warlike affaires is requisite to be done: but they [to the contrarie] would not obay him, saying hee was but a Bore,[3] & that they were better Gentlemen & soldiers then he: and with these and such like presumptuous speeches, they went on their course, scattering here & there in all disorders like sheepe without a shepheard, thinking all the world not sufficient to containe them, and every Portingall to bee a Hercules and so strong, that they could beare the whole world upon their shoulders, which the Arabians (being within the land and most on horsebacke) perceyving and seeing their great disorder, and knowing most of their Fustes to lie drie upon the strand, and that without great payne, and much labour they coulde not hastily set them on floate, presently compassed them about, and being ringed in manner of a halfe Moone, they fell upon them, and in that sorte drave them away, killing them as they list, till they came unto their Fustes: and because they could not presently get their Fustes into the water, through fear[4] and shame they were compelled to

[1] Orig. Dutch: "Nicolu". Couto and Faria have "Niquilu". Probably the Benu Khâlid, "the most prominent tribe on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf, until subjugated by the Wahhâbis" (Badger, on "Salil ibn Razik"). [2] Orig. Dutch: "of those of Ormus".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "boer" (peasant). [4] Orig. Dutch: "need".

fight, where likewise many of them were slaine, and not above fiftie of them escaped that had set foote on land: and so being gotten into the Fustes, they rowed away. In this overthrow there were slayne above 800. Portingalles, of the oldest & best soldiers in all India, and among them was a Trumpetter, being a Netherlander, who being in the thickest of the fight, not farre from the Portingalles ensigne, and seeing the Ensigne-bearer throw downe his Ensigne, the easier to escape and save his life, and that one of the Arabians had taken it up, casting his Trumpet at his backe, he ranne in great furie, and with his rapier killed the Arabian that held it, and brought it againe among the Portingals, saying it was a great shame for them to suffer it so to bee carried away, and in that manner he held it at the least a whole hower, and spoyled many of the Arabians that sought to take it from him, in such manner, that he stood compassed about with deade men: and although hee might have saved himselfe, if hee woulde have left the Ensigne, yet he would not doe it, till in the ende there came so many upon him, that they killed him, where he yeelded up the Ghost, with the ensigne in his armes, and so ended his dayes [with honour]: which the Portingalles themselves did confesse, and often acknowledged it, commending his valour, which I thought good to set downe in this place for a perpetuall memorie of his valiant mind.[1] The Lieuetenant perceyving their disorder, and how it would fall out, wisely saved himselfe, and got into the Fustes, where hee behelde the overthrow, and in the ende with the emptie vessels he turned againe to Ormus, without doing any thing else, to the great griefe and shame of all the Indian soldiers, being the greatest overthrow that ever the Portingals had in those countries, or wherein they lost so many Portingalles together: among the which was the Archbishoppes brother, and many other

[1] Orig. Dutch: "as a thing worthy to take a note of".

young and lustie Gentlemen, of the principallest in all Portingall.

At the same time the Queene of Ormus came to Goa, being of Mahomets religion, as all her auncesters had beene before her, and as then were contributarie to the Portingall. She caused her selfe to be christened, and was with great solemnitie brought into the Towne, where the Viceroy was her Godfather, and named her Donna Phillippa, after the King of Spaines name, being a faire white woman, very tall [and comely,] and with her likewise a brother of hers, being [verie] young, was also christened, and then with [one] Mathias Dalburquerck that had beene Captain of Ormus, she sailed to Portingall, to present her selfe to the king. She had married with a Portingall Gentleman called Anton. Dazeuedo Coutinho, to whome the king in regarde of his mariage gave the Captaineshippe of Ormus, which is worth above two hundred thousande duckets, as I said before. This Gentleman after hee had beene maried to the Queene about halfe a yeare, living very friendly and lovingly with her, hee caused a shippe to bee made, therewith to saile to Ormus, there to take order for the rentes and revenewes belonging to the Queene his wife: but his departure was so grievous unto her, that she desired him to take her with him, saying, that without him she could not live: but because he thought it not as then convenient, hee desired her to be content, promising to returne againe with all the speede he might. Whereuppon hee went to Bardes, (which is the uttermost parte of the River entering into Goa), about three myles off: and while hee continued there, staying for winde and weather, the Queene (as it is saide) tooke so great greefe for his departure, that she dyed, the same day that her husbande set saile and put to sea, to the great admiration of all the Countrey, and no lesse sorrowe, because shee was the first Queene in those countries that had beene christened, forsaking her kingdome and high estate, rather to die a

Christian, and married with a meane Gentleman, then to live like a Queene under the lawe of Mahomet, and so was buried with great honor according to her estate.

In the month of August 1586 there arived a man of Mosambique in Goa yt. came from Portingal in ye ship yt. shold saile to Malacca, that brought newes unto the Viceroy, how the ship called the Boa Viagen, that in the yeare before sailed from India towards Portingall, was cast away by the cape de Bona Speranza, where it burst in peeces beeing overladen: (for they do commonly overlade most of their ships,) & affirmed that the ship had at the least 9. handfull high of water within it before it departed from Cochiin, & although before their ships set sayle, they put the Master and other Officers to their othes, [thereby to make them confesse] if the ship be strong and sufficient to performe the voyage, or to let them know the faults, (which upon their said oathes is certefied, by a protestation made, wherunto the Officers set their handes:) yet though the ship have never so many faultes, they will never confesse them, because they will not loose their places, and profit of the Voyage: yea, although they do assuredly knowe the ship is not able to continue the Voyage: for that covetousnes overthrowing wisdome [& pollicie], maketh them reiect all feare: but when they fall into the danger, then they can speake faire, and promise many thinges. In that sort most of the ships depart from Cochiin so that if any of them come safelie into Portingall, it is only by the will[1] of God: for otherwise it were impossible to escape, because they overlade them, and are so badly provided otherwise, with little order among their men, so that not one ship commeth over, but can shew of their great dangers by overlading, want of necessaries and reparations of the ship, together with unskilfull Saylers, yet for all these dayly & continuall dangers, there is no amendment, but they daily grow worse and worse.

[1] Orig. Dutch: "only a miracle".

In this ship called the Boa Viagen were many Gentlemen, of the best and principallest that had served a long time in India, travelling as then unto Portingall with their certificates, to get some reward for their service, as the manner is: and because it was one of the best and greatest ships of that fleet, the Ambassador of Xatamas King of Persia went therein to procure a League with the King of Spaine, & to ioyne with him against the Turke their common enemie, but he being drowned, the Persian would send no more Ambassadors, and yet hee is still in League and good friendshippe with the Portingalles. The worst ship that sayleth from Cochin to Portingall is worth at the least a million of gold, & this was one of the best ships, wherby may be considered, what great losse commeth by the casting away of one of their ships, besides the men: for there passeth never a yere, but one or two of them are cast away eyther[1] in going or comming.

In the month of September the same yere 1586. there arived foure ships out of Portingall in Goa, called the Saint Thomas, S. Salvador, the Arrelickias,[2] and Bon Iesus de Carania, but of their Admirall S. Phillip they had no newes, since their departure from Lisbone.[3]

On the last of November, the same ships departed from Goa: some along the coast of Malabar to take in their lading of Pepper, and from thence to Cochiin, where commonly one or two of them are laden with pepper, but other wares are only laden from Cochiin. At the same time there was a ship called the Ascention that lay in Goa, & had made certaine voiages to China and Iapan: which ship was brought[4] by the Factors[5] [for pepper,] because the ship Carania by

[1] Orig. Dutch: "as well ..... as".

[2] Read: "As Reliquias".

[3] This ship arrived later at Moçambique, took there its cargo, and returned thence to Lisbon.

[4] Read: "bought".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "by de pachters vande schepen" (by the farmers of the ship).

reason of her oldnes, was broken in Cochiin, and[1] set upon ye stockes [to be new made,] but not finished by reason of certaine controversie that fell among the Factors.[2]

In this shippe called Nossa Senhora da Sançao, my Lord the Archbishop sayled unto Portingall, by reason of certaine quarels newly begun betweene the Viceroy and other Councellors, and the Archbishop. And although by the Viceroy, all the Councell, and Gentlemen, and communaltie of Goa, he was intreated not to leave them, yet hee would not be disswaded from his purpose, but went to ride unto the King, of whom he was well beloved, which the Viceroy and others liked not very well of, fearing hee should give some information to the King, which would be smally to their profit, and in that minde he undertooke his Voyage, discharging all his servants, saving some that he kept about him for his service, leaving no man in his house, but only his Steward, and my selfe to receive his rents and keepe his house, and because as then the golden Iubileo or pardon of Roome was newly brought into the Indies, (called La Santa Crusada) being granted to the end, that with the mony [that should bee gathered by vertue] therof, the Captives [and Prisoners] in Africa or Barbary, that had beene taken Prisoners in the battaille, wherein Don Sebastian King of Portingall was slaine, should be redeemed, which was sent unto the Archbishop, being apointed the Romane Apostolicke Commissarie, &c. for the same: made me the general Clarke[3] throughout al India, [to keepe account of the said receits,] and gave me one of the keyes of the chest, wherein the monie lay, with a good stipend, and other profits belonging to the same, during the time of his absence: thereby the rather to binde mee, that I should remaine in his house, and keep the same till

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and a new of the same name".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "farmers".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "Clerk of the Cobrança" (*i. e.*, the raising of the tax).

his returne againe, as I [had] promised unto him: And so he set sayle from Cochiin in the month of Ianuary, Anno 1587. his Pilot being the same man that cast the Saint Iago, away upon the flats of India, as it is said before.

The ships at that time being ready to set sayle, one some foure or five dayes after the other, as they were laden, because they observe a certaine order therein, the better to register al their wares and merchandises, it so fel out, yt. all the other ships being dispatched, the Arrelikias only was the last that laded: which having taken in her whole lading, the Officers and some of the Factors[1] being bribed, suffered some of the ballast to be taken out, & in place thereof laded Cinamon, because [at that time] Cinamon was risen[2] in Portingall, and at a very high price, and therefore the officers and Factors by giftes aforesaid[3] suffered it to be laden in that maner, as having no other place to lade it in. You must understand that when the time commeth to set saile, the ships ly[ing] at anker about a mile within the sea, where they receive[d] their lading, (the reason why they lie so farre, is because it is summer time, and [there] the sea is as calme and still, as if it were within the land). A trumpet is sounded throughout all the towne of Cochiin [to call them all on bord,] wherewith all that will saile, doe presently come downe accompanied with their friendes, which in smal boates called Tones and Pallenges[4] bring them abord, with great store of bread[5] and such like victuals: so that you shall manie times see the shippes hang round about with boats, [at the least]

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and also the farmers".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "much in demand".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "farmers and officers of the ship, being bribed by the merchants".

[4] "Tones and Pallenges". Malayālam and Tamil, *tōni*, a boat, a dhoney; from Sanskrit, *droṇi*, a trough, a kind of boat.—[K.] For "pallenges" Couto has "palegas". (I can find nothing nearer than Malayāl. *palaγa*, "a plank"; Canarese, *palage* and *palange*, the same. —Y.)

[5] Orig. Dutch: "bread-fruits".

three or foure hundred with such a noise and reioycing,[1] [as it is wonderfull to heare,] and sometimes the ships are so laden, that the Cables touch the water, and besides that the hatches covered with divers chestes, seaven or eight one above another, having no other place to set them in, for yt. under the hatches they are so stuffed, that there is not an emptie roome: so that when they set saile, they know not where to begin, nor how to rule the ship, neyther can they well for a month after [tell how to] place all things in order, and so was it with this ship, which being thus prepared, the Viador[2] da Fazenda, or the Kinges officer[s][3] came abord, asking them if the shippe were readie to set sayle and depart, they say it was ready, and he having made a protestation or certificate thereof, the officers set to their hands, as some say, but others denie it, & presently he commanded them to wind up[4] their cables, [and hoyse anker], as the manner is, and [so] let their sailes fall, with a great crie of Boa Voyage,[5] or [God send them good fortune, and] a merry[6] Voyage: all the boates being still abord, which commonly doe hang at her [at the least] a mile, or halfe a mile within the sea, because it is calme.

This ship (called the Arrelikias) beginning in this manner to sayle, among other romage that stood upon the hatches, there were certaine hennes cages, from whence certaine hennes flew out, whereupon[7] every man claimed them for his owne: and [upon a Sunday] (as in such cases it is commonly seene) they ranne all on a heape upon the one side: whereby the ship being light of Balast, and laden with many chestes above the hatches (as I said before) it swaied so much on the

[1] Orig. Dutch: "with the greatest bustle of the world".
[2] Read: "Veador".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "the king's overseer and officer".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "to cut off".
[5] Read: "Viagem".
[6] Orig. Dutch: "safe".
[7] Orig. Dutch: (add) "they began to fight as".....

one side, that by litle and little it suncke cleane under the water: so that not above a handfull of the maste could be seene above the water. The people leaped into the boats, that as yet were hanging about the ship, which was good Fortune for them, otherwise there had not one escaped alive: but by that meanes they were all saved, the slaves onely excepted that were bound with iron chaines and could not stirre, and so they were drowned. God knoweth what riches was lost in her, for nothing was saved but some few chestes that stood above the hatches, which the Duckers got up, and yet the goods in them was [in a manner] spoyled, and the rest utterly lost: by this it may be considered what manner the Portingales use in lading of their ships, and that it is to bee thought, that as many ships as are cast away, whereof there hath bin heard no newes or tydinges, are onely lost by meanes of evill order and government.[1] [This being so unluckily fallen out, the Marchants][2] used all the [speed and] meanes they could, by witnesses to make protestation against the Officers and the Factors[3] [of the pepper, that they might be punished] for taking out the Ballast, but they kept themselves out of the way, and by prolonging of time it was forgotten, and nothing done therein: so that the Marchants[4] that had received all the losse, were glad to put it up.[5]

In the same moneth there came newes out of Malacca, that it was in great danger,[6] & that many died there for hunger, as also that the ship that went from Portingall thether, was forced to stay there, because they had no victuals to dispatch it away: and likewise that the straight of Sumatra was kept by the enemy, so that there could no shippes passe that way to China or Iapan. This was done by the Kinges

[1] Orig. Dutch: "by such misrule".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "Afterwards they used", etc.
[3] Orig. Dutch: "Farmers".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "those".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "might complain to God of it".
[6] See Couto, Dec. X, Livro VIII, cap. xvii.

of Sumatra, that is to say, the King of Achem and Ior[1] lying by Malacca upon the Firme land, which rebelled against the Portingales in Malacca uppon a certaine iniurie done unto them by the Captaine there. These newes put Goa in a great alteration, for that their principall traffique is to China, Malacca, and Iapan, and the Islandes bordering on the same, which by meanes of those warres was wholly hindered: whereupon great numbers of fustes, gallies, and ships were prepared [in Goa,] to relieve Malacca, and all the townes men tasked [every one at a certaine summe of mony,] besides the money that was brought from other places,[2] and men taken up[3] to serve in the ships: for by means of their late overthrowes and losse of ships, India was at that time very weake of men.

In the month of May, Anno 1587, there came a [ship or] galley[4] of Mosambique unto Goa, bringing newes that the ship S. Phillip had bin there, and taken in the lading of[5] pepper that was in the ship called S. Laurenzo, that had arived there, in her Voyage towards Portingall, and was all open above the hatches, and without mastes, most of her goods being throwne into the sea: whereby miraculouslie they saved their lives, and by fortune put into Mosambique. In this ship called S. Phillip were the young Princes, the[5] kings children of Iapan, as is before declared.[6] [From Mosambique] came[7] the same Galley[4] that brought the newes to Goa, the same Galley likewise brought newes of the Army that was sent out of Goa in December 1586,[8]

[1] *I.e.*, Johor.

[2] Orig. Dutch: "that was borrowed from the merchants".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "raised".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "galliotte", from Ptg. "galeota" or "galiota", which was as well a rowing as a sailing vessel.

[5] Orig. Dutch: "and".

[6] See *ante*, p. 167.

[7] Orig. Dutch: "They (the princes) came in".

[8] See Couto, Dec. X, Livro IX, cap. i, ii.

[being the yeare before,] unto the coast of Melinde or Abex, to revenge the iniurie which they had received in the Fleete: whereof Ruy Gonsalves da Camara was Captaine, as I saide before, as also to punish the townes that at the same time[1] had united themselves with the Turke, and broken league with the Portingales. Of this armie was Generall, a gentleman called Martin Alfonso de Mello: [wherewith] comming upon the coast of Abex, or Melinde, which lyeth betweene Mosambique and the red sea, they went on land, and because the Turks whome they sought for, were gone home through the read sea, they determined to punish [and plague] the townes that had favoured the Turkes, and broken their aliance with them, and to the same end entred into the countrie, as farre[2] as the townes of Pate and Braua,[3] that little thought of them, and easily overran them, because most part of the people fled to save themselves & left the townes: whereby the Portingales did what pleased them, burning the townes, and razing them to the ground, [with others that lay about them][4] and among those that fled to save themselves, they tooke the King of Pate, whose head in great furie they caused to bee striken off and brought it unto Goa, where for certaine daies it stood upon a maste in the middle of the towne for an example to all others, as also in signe of victorie: wherewith the Portingales began to be somewhat incouraged, and so they went from thence to Ormus, and from Ormus they were to goe help the King of Persia, as the Viceroy had commanded them: but being at Ormus, many of their men fell sick and died, among the which their Generall Martin Alfonso da Metto,[5] was one, whereupon they returned againe unto Goa, without doing any other thing.

[1] Orig. Dutch: "on the same coast".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "came on land to".
[3] See *ante*, p. 184.
[4] Orig. Dutch: "as much as they could".
[5] Read: "Martim Affonso de Mello".

The same armie sayling to the coast of Abex, and falling on the Island of Zamzibar, which lieth under sixe degrees on the south side, about 70. miles from Pate, towards Mosambique, about 18. miles from the Firme land, there they found the Saint Salvador that came from Cochiin, sayling towards Portingall being all open, having throwne all her goods overboard, saving only some pepper which they could not come at, and were in great danger, holding themselves by force of pumping above the water, & uppon the point to leave, being all wearie and readie to sink, which they certainly had done, if by great good fortune they had not met with the armie,[1] which they little thought to finde in those parts. The Armie[1] tooke the shippe with them to Ormus, where the rest of the pepper and goods remaining in her, were unladen, and the ship broken in peeces, and of the bordes they made a lesser ship, wherein the men that were in the great ship with the rest of the goods that were saved in her, sailed to Portingall, & after a long and wearisome voiage, arived there in safetie.

The 17. of September, 1587, a Galliot of Mosambique arrived at Goa, bringing newes of the arival of foure ships [in Mosambique that came] out of Portingall: Their names were S. Antony, S. Francisco, our Lady of Nazareth, and S. Alberto: but of the S. Mary, that came in company wt. them from Portingall, they had no newes, but afterwards they heard that shee put backe againe to Portingal, by reason of some defaults in her, and also of the foule weather. Eight dayes after the said 4. ships arived in Goa, where with great ioy they were received.

At the same time the Fort called Columbo, which the Portingales hold in the Island of Seylon, was besieged by the King of Seylon, called Raiu,[2] and in great danger to be lost: which to deliver, there was an armie of fustes and

[1] Orig. Dutch: "this armada".

[2] Raja Singha ("the Lion King").

gallies sent from Goa: whereof was Generall Barnaldin de Carvalho.

And at the same time departed another armie of many ships, fustes, and gallies, with great numbers of souldiers, munition, victuals, and other warlike provisions, therewith to deliver Malacca, which as then was besieged and in great misery, as I saide before: thereof was generall Don Paulo de Lyma Pereira, a valiant Gentleman, and an olde souldier, who not long before had bin Captaine of Chaul, and being very fortunate[1] in all his enterprises, was therefore chosen to bee Generall of that fleet. The last of November, the foure ships afore said departed from Goa to lade at Cochiin, and from thence to saile for Portingale.[2]

In December after, while the Fort of Columbo in the Island of Seylon, was still besieged, the towne[3] of Goa made out another great fleete of ships and gallies, for the which they tooke up many men within the Citie, and compelled them to goe in the ships because they wanted men, with a great contribution of mony raysed upon the Marchants and other inhabitants [to furnish the same]: of the which armie was appointed general, one Manuel de Sousa Courinho,[4] a brave gentleman, and souldier, who in times past had bin Captaine of the said Fort of Columbo, and had withstood another besieging: whereuppon the king put him in great credit, and advanced him much, and after the Viceroyes death, he was Viceroy[5] of India, as in time & place we shall declare. He with his armie arived in the Isle of Seylon, where hee ioyned with the other armie that went before, and placed themselves in order to give battaile to Raiiu, who per-

[1] Orig. Dutch: "respected and victorious".

[2] See on his expedition: Couto, Dec. X, Livro VIII, cap. xvii; Livro IX, cap. vi-xii.

[3] Orig. Dutch: "those".

[4] Read: Coutinho.

[5] Orig. Dutch: "Governor".

ceiving the great number of his enemies, brake up his siege and forsooke the Fort, to the great reioycing of the Portingales, and having strengthned the Forte with men and victuals, they returned againe to Goa, where in the month of March, Anno 1588, they were received with great ioy.

In the month of Aprill the same yeare, the armie of Don Paulo de Lyma, that went to Malacca, arived in Goa with victorie, having fired[1] Malacca, and opened the passage againe to China and other places, the maner whereof was this: [In their way] as they passed[2] the straight of Malacca, they met with a ship belonging to the king of Achein in Samatra, who was a deadly enemie to the Portingales, and the principal cause of the besieging of Malacca. In the same ship was the Daughter of the said king of Achein, which he sent to be maried to the king of Ioor, thereby to make a new aliance with him against the Portingales, and for a present sent him a goodly peece of Ordinance, wherof the like was not to be found in all India, and therefore it was afterwards sent into Portingale as a present to the king of Spaine in a ship of Malacca, which after was cast away in the Island of Tercera, one of the Flemmish Ilandes, where the same peece with much labor was weighed up, and laid within the fortresse of the same Isle, because it is so heavie that it can hardly be caried into Portingale. But to the matter, they tooke the ship with the kings daughter, and made it al good prize, and by it they were advertised what had passed [betweene the kings of Achein, and Ioor]: so that presently they sent certaine souldiers on land, and marching in order of battaile, they set uppon the towne of Ioor, that was sconsed and compassed about with woodden stakes, most of the houses being of straw: which when the people of the towne perceived, and saw the great number of men and also their resolution, they were in great feare, and as many as could, fledde and

[1] Read "freed"; orig. Dutch: "delivered".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "approached".

saved themselves in the countrie: to conclude the Portingales entred the towne, and set it on fire, utterly spoyling and destroying it, [razing it even with the ground,] & slaying al they found, and taking some prisoners, which they led away Captives, and found within the towne at the least 2500. brasse peeces great & small, which were al brought into India. You must understand that some of them were no greater than Muskets, some greater, and some very great, being very cunningly wrought with figures and flowers, which the Italians and Portingales that have denyed their faith, and become Mahometistes, have taught them: whereof there are many in India, and [are those indeede that] doe most hurt: when they have done any murther or other villanie, fearing to be punished for the same, [to save their lives] they runne over by the firme land among the Heathens and Mores, and there they have great stipendes [and wages] of the Indian kinges and Captaines of the land. Seaven or eight yeares before my comming into India, there were in Goa certain Trumpeters and Cannonyers being Dutchmen, & Netherlanders,[1] and because they were reiected and scorned by the Portingales in India, (as they scorn all other nations in the world) as also for that they could get no pay, & when they asked it, they were presently abused and cast into the gallies, and there compelled to serve. In the end they tooke counsell together, and seeing they could not get out of the countrie, they secretly got into the firme land of Balagate and went unto Hidalcan,[2] where they were gladly received, and very well entertained with great payes, living like Lords: & there being in dispaire denide their faithes, although it is thought by some that they remaine still in

[1] Orig. Dutch: "duytschen ende Nederlanders", *i. e.*, Dutchmen and inhabitants of Low Germany, who still in this time spoke nearly the same tongue. The name "Nederlanders" is now assumed by the first, who call the Germans, "Duitschers".

[2] *I.e.*, Adil Khân, the title of one of the chief Mubammedan princes of Dekhan, who had his residence in Bijapur. See *ante*, p. 168 of vol. i.

their owne religion, but it is most sure that they are maried in those countries with Heathen women, and were living when I came from thence:[1] by this meanes are the Portingales the causes of their owne mischiefes, onely through their pride, & hardines,[2] and make rods to scourge themselves withall, wt. I have onely shewed in respect of those cast peeces, & other martiall weapons, which the Indians have learned of the Portingals, and Christians, whereof in times past they had no understanding: and although they had placed all those peeces in very good order, yet it should seeme they knew not howe to shoote them off, or to use them as they should, as it appeared hereby, for that they presently forsooke them, and left them for the Portingals. With this victory the Portingals were very proude, and with great glorie[3] entred into Malacca, wherein they were receyved with great triumph, as it may well bee thought, being by them delivered from great miserie, wherein they had long continued. Which ye king of Achein hearing, and that his daughter was taken prisoner, he sent his ambassadour to Don Panto de Lyma with great presentes, desiring to make peace with him, which was presently granted, and all the waies to Malacca were opened, and al kinds of marchandises and victuailes brought thether, which before had beene kept from them, whereat was much reioycing. This done, & order being taken for all things in Malacca, they returned againe to Goa, where they arived [in safetie] (as I said before) in the month of April, and there were receyved with great triumph, the people singing Te Deum laudamus, many of the soldiers bringing good prises with them.

In the month of May following, uppon the 15. [of the same month] the Viceroy Don Duarte de Meneses died in Goa, having been sicke but foure daies of a burning feaver,

[1] Orig. Dutch: "when I left India".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "arrogance".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "presumption".

which is the common sicknes of India, and is very daungerous:' but it is thought it was for greefe, because hee had receyved letters from the Captaine of Ormus, wherein hee was advertised, that they had receyved news over land from Venice, that the Archbishop was [safely] arived at Lisbone, and wel[1] received by the king: and because they were not friends at his departure (as I said before) they said he was so much grieved thereat, that fearing to fall into the displeasure of the king, by information from the Bishoppe, hee dyed of griefe: but that was contrarie, as hereafter by the shippes we understood, for that the Bishop dyed in the shippe eight dayes before it arived in Portingal, and so they kept companie together: for they lived not long one after the other, whereby their quarrell was ended with their lives.

The Viceroyes funerals were with great solemnity observed in this manner. The place appointed for the Viceroyes buriall, is a Cloister called Reys Magos, or the three kings [of Cullen], being of the order of Saint Francis, which standeth in ye land of Bardes, at the mouth of the River of Goa, and thether his bodie was conveyed, being set in the galley Royall, all hanged over with blacke pennons, and covered with blacke cloth, being accompanied with all the nobilitie [and gentlemen of the countrey]. And approaching neere the cloister of Reys Magos, being three miles from Goa downe the River towards the sea, the Friers came out to receyve him, and brought his bodie into the church, where they placed it upon a herse, and so with great solemnity sung Masse: which done there were certaine letters brought forth, called Vias, which are alwaies sealed, and kept by the Iesuites by the kinges appointment, and are never opened but in ye absence or at the death of the Viceroy. These Vias are yearely sent by the King, and are marked with figures, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. and so forth, and when there wanteth a

[1] Orig. Dutch: "with much honour".

Viceroy,[1] then the first number or Via is opened, wherein is written that in the absence or after the death of the Viceroy such a man shal be Viceroy,[1] and if the man that is named in the first Via, bee not there, then they open the second Via, & looke whose name is therein: being in place, he is presently receyved and obeyed as Governour, and if he be likewise absent, they open the rest orderly as they are numbred, untill the Governour bee found, which being knowne, they neede open no more. The rest of the Vias that are remayning are presently shut up, & kept in the Cloyster by the Iesuites, but before the Vias are opened there is no man that knoweth [who it shal be, or] whose name is written therein. These Vias are with great solemnitie opened by the Iesuites, and read [in open audience] before all the nobles, Captaines, Governors,[2] and others that are present: and if the man that is named in the Vias bee in any place of India, or the East countries, as[3] Soffala, Mosambique, Ormus, Malacca, or any other place [of those countries], as sometimes it happeneth, he is presently sent for, and must leave all other offices to receyve that place untill the king sendeth another out of Portingall: but if the man named in ye Vias be in Portingal, China, or Iapan, or at[4] the cape de bona Speranza, then they open other Vias, as I said before. The Masse being finished, the Iesuites came with the kings packets of Vias, which are sealed with the Kings owne signet, and are [alwaies] opened before the other Viceroyes body is laide in the earth, and there they opened the first Via, and with great devotion staying to know who it should be, [at the last] was named for Viceroy one Mathias Dalburkerke, that had beene Captaine of Ormus, and the yeare before was gone in company of the Archbishoppe to Portingall, because he had broken one of his

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "or Governor".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "Regierders" (members of Government).
[3] Orig. Dutch: "as Captain of".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "past".

legges, thinking[1] to heale it: but if he had knowne so much he would have stayed in India. He being absent the seconde Via was opened with the like solemnitie, therein they found named for Viceroy, Manuel de Souta Coutinho, (of whom I made mention before, and who was the man that raysed the siege in the Island of Seylon) to the great admiration[2] of every man, because he was but a meane gentleman, yet very well esteemed, as he had [wel] observed[3] by his long service: & although there were many rich gentlemen in place,[4] whome they rather thought should have been preferred thereto, yet they must content themselves and shew no dislike: and thereupon they presently saluted him, kissing his hand, and honoured him[5] as Viceroy, presently they left the deade bodie of the olde Viceroy, and departed in the Galley with the new Viceroy,[6] taking away all the mourning clothes, and standerds, and covering it with others of divers colours and silkes: and so entred into Goa, sounding (both) Shalmes and Trumpettes, wherein he was receyved with great triumph, and ledde into the great Church, where they sung Te Deum laudamus &c. and there gave him his oath[7] to hold and observe all priviledges and customes according to the order in that case provided, and from thence ledde him to the Viceroyes pallace, which was presently by the dead Viceroyes servantes all unfurnished,[8] and by the newe Viceroye furnished againe,[9] [both with householde stuffe] and servantes, as the manner is in all such chaunges [and alterations]. The

[1] Orig. Dutch: "the better".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "surprise".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "obtained".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "many other excellent gentlemen".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "hebben hem menagie ofte beloften gedaan". "Menagie" is probably a misprint for "homagie". So it should be rendered, "rendering him homage or promises", *i.e.*, of fidelity.
[6] Orig. Dutch: "Governor".
[7] Orig. Dutch: "the oath was taken".
[8] Orig. Dutch: "left and almost ravaged".
[9] Orig. Dutch: "instantly cleaned and filled up with his people".

bodie of the deade Viceroy being left in the Church, was buried by his servantes without any more memorie of him, [saving onely touching his owne particular affaires].[1]

In the Monthes of Iune, Iulie, and August, of the same yeare, Anno 1588, there happened the greatest winter that had of long time beene seene in those Countries, although it rayneth everie winter, never holding uppe all winter long: but not in such [great quantitie and] aboundance, as it did in those three Monthes, for that it rayned continually [and in so great aboundance], from the tenth of Iune till the first day of September, yt. it could not be iudged that it ever held uppe [from rayning] one halfe hower [together], neyther night nor day, whereby many houses by reason of the [great] moysture fell downe to the grounde, as also because the stone wherewith they are built, is verie soft, and their morter [the more] half earth.

In the same month of August there happened a foule and wonderfull murther within [the towne of] Goa, and because it was done upon a Netherlander, I thought good to set it downe at large, that hereby men may the better perceyve the boldnesse and [filthie] lecherous mindes of the Indian women, which are commonly all of one nature and disposition. The thing was thus, a young man borne in Antwarpe called Frauncis King,[2] by his trade a stone cutter,[3] was desirous (as many young men are) to see strange countries, & [for the same cause] travelled unto Venice, where he had an uncle dwelling, who being desirous to preferre his cosin, sent him in the company of other Marchantes to Aleppo in Suria, where the Venetians have great trafficke, as I saide before, there to learne the trade of marchandise, and specially to deale in stones, to the which ende he delivered him a [great] summe of money. This [young] youth being in Aleppo, fell into com-

[1] Orig. Dutch: "unless by those whom it particularly regarded".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "Frans Coningh".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "diamond-polisher".

pany in such sort, that insteede of increasing his stocke, as his uncle meant he should doe, he made it lesse by the one halfe, so that when the other Marchants had dispatched their businesse, and were readie to depart for Venice, Frauncis King perceyving that hee had dealt in such sorte,[1] that halfe his stocke was consumed, and spent in good fellowshippe, knew not what to doe, as fearing his uncles displeasure, not daring to returne againe [to Venice unlesse hee caried as much with him as hee brought from thence]:[2] in the end hee tooke counsell of some Venetians, with whome hee was acquainted, that willed him to goe with the Caffila or Carvana, that as then was ready to go unto Bassora, and from thence to Ormus in India, assuring him seeing hee had knowledge in stones, that hee might [doe great good and] winne much profite [in those Countries], and thereby easily recover the losse that by his folly hee had receyved: which would turne to his great benefite, and likewise no hurt unto his uncle. Which counsell hee followed, determining not to returne backe againe before hee had recovered his losse, and [to the same end and purpose hee] ioyned himselfe with certain Venetians, who [at the same instant] travelled thether, and so went with the Caffila till they came unto Bassora, the best Towne in all those Countries,[3] lying uppon the utter parte of Sinus Persicus, that goeth towardes Ormus, and from thence by water till they arrived in Ormus, where everie man set uppe his shoppe, [and began to sell his wares]: but Francis King being young and without government, seeing himselfe so far distant from his uncle, made his account, that the money he had in his hands was then his owne, and began againe without anie foresight, to leade his accustomed life, taking no other care, but onlie to [be merrie and] make good cheare so long, till in the end the whole stock was almost clean [spent and]

[1] Orig. Dutch: "that the time was past and".....
[2] Orig. Dutch: "without settling his accounts".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "of the country".

consumed, and beginning to remember himself [and to call to mind his follies past,] hee knewe not what course to take: for that to goe home again, he thought it not the best way, as wanting the meanes, and again he durst not shew himself in the sight of his Uncle. At the last he determined to travell unto Goa, where he understood he might well get his living, by setting up his trade, til it pleased God, to work otherwise for him, and so he came to Goa, and being there, presently set up shoppe to use his occupation. But because he found there good company, that is to say, Netherlanders and [other] Dutchmen, that served there ordinarily for Trumpetters and Gunners to the Viceroy, who did daylie resort unto him: he could not so well ply his worke, but that he fell into his wonted course: which he perceiving, in the end determined to make his continuall residence in Goa, and [for the same purpose] set downe his rest, [to seeke some meanes] there to abide as long as he lived, seeing all other hope was cleane lost for ever, returning againe unto his [Uncle, or into his] owne countrie. [At the same time],[1] among other strangers, there was one Iohn de Xena,[2] a French man, borne in Deepe,[3] that in former times was come into India, for drum unto one of the Viceroyes, and having beene long in the countrie, was maryed to a woman of Ballagate, a Christian, but by birth a More. This French man kept a shoppe in Goa, where he made Drummes and other Ioyners worke, and withall was the Kings Oare maker for the Galleyes, whereby he lived in reasonable good sort. He had by his foresaid wyfe two sonnes and a daughter: and as strangers, [of what nation soever they be], use to take acquaintance one of the other, being out of their owne countries (speciallie in India, where there are very few) and do hold together as brethren, which to them is a great comfort: so this Frauncis King

[1] Orig. Dutch: "So he began to seek a partner. Now among", etc.
[2] Orig. Dutch: "du Xena", probably "du Chesne".
[3] Read: Dieppe.

used much to this French mans house, by whom he was verie much made of, and very welcome, as thinking thereby to bring him to match with his daughter, because of his occupation, which is of great account in India: because of the great number of [Diamants & other] stones that are sold in those countries: and to conclude, as the manner of India is, that when they have gotten a man in once, they will never leave him: he ceassed not with many promises and other wonderfull matters to draw Frauncis so farre, that he gave his consent thereunto, which afterwardes cost him his lyfe, as in the historie following you shall heare the true discourse. To make short, they were maried according to their manner, the Bryde being but 11. yeares old, [very] fair and comelie of bodie and limme, but in villanie, the worst that walked uppon the earth: yet did her husband account himselfe a [most] happie man that had found such a wyfe, as he often times said unto me: although he was so ielous of her, that he trusted not any man, were they never so neere friends unto him:[1] but he in whome he put his greatest trust & least suspected, was the [onelie] worker of his woe. When he was betroathed to his wife,[2] the father promised him a certain peece of money, and untill it were payde, he and his wyfe should continue at meat and meale in his father in lawes house, and should have a shop adioyning to the same, and whatsoever he earned should be for himself. [When all] this was done, and the matter [had] remained thus a long while, by reason that the father in law could not performe the promised summe, because[3] their houshold increased, [it came to passe that] the old man fell into a sicknesse and died, [and then] Frauncis King must of force pay his part towards the housekeeping, which he liked not of: & thereupon fel out

[1] Orig. Dutch: "neither of his own nation nor of his particular friends".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "By his marriage-contract".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "and while ..... and".

with his mother in law; and on a certaine time made his complaint to me, asking my counsel therein, I answered him and said, I would be loath to make debate betweene Parents & Children, but if it were my case, seeing I could not obteyne my dowrie, I would stay no longer there, but rather hyre a house by my self, and keep better house alone with my wife, then continue among so manie, wher I could not be master. In the end he resolved so to doe, & with much adoe tooke his wife & Child wt. his slaves, and parted houshold, hyred himselfe a house, set up his shoppe, and used his trade so handsomely, that having good store of worke, he became reasonable wealthie. But his mother in law, that could not conceale her Morish nature, after ye death of her husband: whether it were for spight she[1] to her sonne in law, or for a pleasure she tooke therein, counselled her daughter to fall in love[2] with a young Portingal Soldier, whom the daughter did not much mislike:[3] which soldier was verie great in the house, and ordinarilie came thether to meat and drinke, and Frauncis trusted him [as well as if he had bene][4] his brother, in so much that he would doe nothing without his counsell. This Soldier called Anthonio Fragoso continued this beastlie course with Frauncis his wyfe, with the helpe of her mother, all the while that they dwelt with the mother: and it is sayd, that he used her company before shee was maried, although shee was but young, which is no wonder in India: for it is their common custome in those countries to doe it, when they are but eight yeres old, and have the flight to hide it so well, that when they are maried, their husbands take them for very good maides. This [order of life] they continued [in that sorte] for the space of foure yeares, and also after that they had taken a house, and dwelled alone by themselves (for

[1] Read: "she tooke".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "to take for paramour".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "to which the daughter seemed also inclined".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "more as".

Antonio Fragoso kept his old haunt) and although Francis used continually to shut his chamber dore,[1] yet was this Portingall oftentimes hidden therein, he not knowing thereof, where hee tooke his pleasure of his wife.

At the last, one Diricke Gerritson of Enchuson in Holland, being Godfather unto Francis Kinges wife, comming newly from China,[2] desired the said Francis and his wife to come and dine with him at his house without the towne, [where as then he dwelt,] and among the rest had mee,[3] [minding to bee merrie and made us good cheare]:[4] but because the honest Damsell Francis Kinges wife, made her excuse, that she might not with her credit come where Batchelers were, for that they had no such use in India, he desired mee to hold him excused till another time. They being there at this feast, with the mother in law, and her sonne, & their houshold of slaves that waited uppon them, as the maner of India is. After dinner was ended, and they well in drinke, they went to walke in the fieldes, where not far from thence there stood a house of pleasure, that had neyther dore nor window, but almost fallen downe for want of reparations, having on the backe side therof a faire garden full of Indian trees and fruites: the house and garden Francis Kinges father in law had bought in his life time for a small peece of mony, for as I say, it was not much worth: thether they went, and caused their pots and their pans with meat and drinke to be brought with them, being minded all that day to make merrie therein, as indeede they did. In the meane time it was my fortune[5] with a friend of mine [to walke] in

[1] Orig. Dutch: "always bolted the door when he did go abroad".

[2] This Dirck Gerritsz, surnamed China, has furnished to Linschoten a log-book of his voyage from Macao to Nagasaki in 1585, and from Nagasaki to Macao in 1586, which are found in the third part of Linschoten's work (*Reys-gheschrift*), ch. 36 and 41.

[3] Orig. Dutch: "had invited me".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "to give there a merry welcome".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "Now it chanced that I made a walk".

the fieldes, and to passe by[1] the house, wherein they were, not thinking any company had bin there, & going by, Francis King being all drunken, came forth and saw me, wherewith he ranne and caught me by the cloke, & perforce would have me in, & made me leave my companion, & so brought me into the garden, where their wives[2] and his mother in law, with their slaves sate, [playing upon certaine][3] Indian Instruments, being verie merrie: but I was no sooner espied by them, but the young woman presently went away to hide herselfe for her credits sake, according to their manner, as their manner is when any stranger commeth into the house. Not long after supper was made ready of such as they had brought with them, although the day was not so far spent, and the table cloth was laid uppon a matte lying on the ground: for that (as I said before) there was neyther table, bench, window, nor dore within the house. The meate being brought in, every man sate downe, only Francis Kinges wife excused her selfe, that I had shamed her, and desired that she might not come in, saying for that time shee would eate there with the slaves, and although her husband would gladly have had her come in among us, thereby to shew that he was not iealous of her, [yet shee would not, so that] seeing her excuse he let her rest, saying [it were best to let her stay there, because] shee is ashamed. While we sate at supper where the slaves served us, going and comming to and fro, [and bringing such thinges as we wanted] out of the place where this honest woman was, her husband thinking shee had taken pains to make it ready, it was nothing so, for that while we were merry together, not thinking any hurt, in came Antonio Fragoso with a naked Rapier under his cloake;[4] it being yet daylight, and in presence of all the slaves, both

[1] Orig. Dutch: "in the neighbourhood of".
[2] Read: "his wife".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "with their".
[4] Orig. Dutch: (add) "in the old house".

theirs and mine,[1] without anie feare of us[2] led her away by the hand into one of the chambers of the house, having neyther doore, flore nor window, and there putting off the cloth that she had about her middle, (which he laid uppon the ground to keepe her from fowling of her body) not being once ashamed before the slaves, neyther fearing any danger, he tooke his pleasure of her: but if any mischance had happened, that any of the slaves had marked it and bewraied it, the said Anthonie had tenne or twelve souldiers his companions and friendes not farre from thence, which with a whistle or any other token would have slaine us all, and taken the woman with him, which is their dayly proffit[3] in India, but we had better fortune: for that hee dispatched his affaires so well with her, that wee knew it not, and had leysure to depart as he came, without any trouble, and she well pleased therewith: and when the slaves asked her how shee durst bee so bold to doe such a thing, considering what danger of life shee then was in, shee answered them that shee cared not for her life, so shee might have her pleasure, and saying that her husband was but a drunkard, and not worthie of her, and that she had used the company of that fine lustie youth for the space of foure yeres together, and for his sake she said shee would not refuse to die: yet had she not then béene married to Francis King full foure yeares, neyther was shée at that time above fiftcene or sixteene yeares of age. Not long after shee had done, shee came into the garden, and as it should seeme, had cleane forgotten her former shame, where she began both to sing and dance, shewing herselfe very merry: wherewith all the companie was [very well] pleased, specially her husband [that commended her for it]. When evening was come, every man tooke his leave, and departed to his lodging, and [when wee

[1] Orig. Dutch: "of Dirck Gerritz and me and her own husband".
[2] Orig. Dutch: (add) "that sat in the garden, not four paces distant".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "neeringhe" (profession).

were gone] wee, chanced by our slaves to understand the truth of the fact [before rehearsed], and what danger we had escaped: whereat we wondred much, and Francis King himselfe began to be somewhat suspicious of the matter, being secretlie advertised of his wives behaviour, but hee knew not with whome she had to doe, nor once mistrusted this Anthonie Fragoso, thinking him to be the best friend hee had in all the world: yea, and that more is, hee durst not breake his minde to any but onely unto him, of whome in great secret he asked counsell, saying, that he understood, and had well found that his wife behaved her selfe dishonestlie, asking him what he were best to doe, and told him further, that he meant to dissemble the matter for a time, to see if hee could take them together, thereby to kill them both, which the other counselled him to doe, promising him his help and furtherance, and to bee secret therein, and so they departed. Anthonio Fragoso went presently unto his wife, and shewed her what had past betweene her husband and him, where they concluded uppon that which after they brought to passe, thinking it the best course to prevent him. Now so it hapned, that in an evening in the month of August, 1588, Francis King had provided a rosted Pig for supper in his own house: whereunto he invited this Anthonio Fragoso, and his mother in law, who as it seemeth, was of counsell with them in this conspiracie, and the principall cause of the Tragedy, although [very stoutly and] boldly shee denied it afterwards. They being at supper and very merrie, at the same time it was my chance to suppe in a certaine place with a Dutch painter, whether Francis King sent us a quarter of the Pigge, praying us to eate it for his sake, [and to be merrie:] he that brought it being one of our owne house. They had caused him to drinke of a certaine wine that was mingled with the Hearbe Deutroa,[1] thereby to bereave poore Francis of his wittes, and so to effect their accursed device:

[1] Read: "Dutroa" (datura). See p. 68.

for as it appeared, hee that brought the Pigge came halfe drunke,[1] and out of his wittes, whereby we perceaved that all was not well.

To conclude, the Hearbe beganne to worke, so that of force hee[2] must needs sleep, and the companie beeing departed, shee[3] shutte his trappe doore, as ordinarily he used to doe, and laid the key under his pillow, and went to Bedde with his loving wife: where presently hee fell on sleepe like a dead man, partly by meanes of the Deutroa, and partly because hee had drunke well. About eleaven of the Clocke in the night, Anthonie Fragoso all armed, and another good friend of his, not knowing (as hee confessed) what Anthonio meant to doe, [and] came to the doore of Francis Kinges house, and knocked softly, and willed the slaves that slept below to open the dore: but they answered him their master was a bedde, and that the trappe doore was shut on the in side. Francis his wife that slept not, when she heard it, ran to the window and willed him to bring a ladder and clime up, which he presently did, and she holp him in, where shee tooke him about the necke, kissing him, and bad him welcome, leading him in by the hand, where her husband slept, little thinking on the villanie pretended by his wife, and such as he held to bee his best friend[s], and to be briefe shee said unto him: There lieth the drunkard and the Hereticke, that thought to bring us to our endes, thereby to seperate us from our love and pleasures, now revenge your selfe on him if you love me, and presently hee thrust him into the body with his Rapier, cleane through the breast, so that it came out behind at his backe, and [being not content therwith,] gave him another thrust, that went in at the one side, and out at the other side, and so [at the least] 4. or 5. thrusts more after he was dead: whereby the [poore] innocent man

[1] Orig. Dutch: "doting".
[2] Viz., Frans Coningh.
[3] Read: "he".

ended his dayes: which done, they took all the stones & Diamonds that hee had of divers men to worke, as also to sell: which amounted at the least to the value of 40. thousand Pardawes, and tooke Francis his own Rapier [that hung by him] & put it into his hand, as if they would make men beleeve that hee would have killed them, & that in their owne defence they had slaine him, but it was well knowne to the contrarie: for that the slaves being below, heard all that had past. They tooke with them also the childe, being of two yeares old, and went out of the house, but they had not gone farre, but they left the childe lying at a doore in the street, where in the morning it was found, & althogh the slaves made a great noise at their mistrisses flight, & went to fetch the officers, yet they could not find them, for that night the murtherers went & knocked at ye Iesuits cloister, desiring them to take them in, & gave them the most part of the stones, saying they had slain the man in their owne defence, but the Iesuites would not receive them, although they tooke the stones, of purpose to give them againe to the owners. In the morning it was knowne through all the towne not without great admiration,[1] and although they sought diligently in all places [where they thought or suspected them to lodge],[2] yet they could not find them: but not long after they were seene in the towne of Chaul, which is about thirty miles Northwarde from Goa, where they walked freely in the streetes, without any trouble: for there all was covered, and few there are that look after such matters, [though they bee as cleare as the Sunne].[3] The dead bodie lay in that sort till the next morning, & we Dutch men were forced to see him buried, for the mother in lawe woulde not give one peny towards it, making as though she had not any thing to doe with him, but holpe the murtherer both with money and vic-

[1] Orig. Dutch: "amazement".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "with great penalty of those that lodged them".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "then it happens on more days as Sunday".

tuailes, therewith to travell unto Portingal, and so he sayled in the fleete with us: for I saw him in the Island of S. Helena, as bold and lusty[1] as if no such matter had beene committed by him, and so arived in Portingall, not any man speaking against him: having also promised both the mother, and wife of Francis King, that hee woulde come againe with the Kinges pardon, and marrie her: which I doubt not of, if hee once went about it. And thus Francis King ended his travell: which I thought good to set downe at large, that thereby you may perceyve the boldnes and inclination of the Indian women: for there passeth not one yeare [over their heades], but that in India there are [at the least] twentie or thirtie men poysoned, and murthered by their wives, onely to accomplish their filthie desires. Likewise there are yearely many women killed by their husbands being taken in adulterie, but they care not a haire for it, saying with great boldnes, that there is no pleasanter death then to die in that manner: for thereby (they say) they do shew that they die for pure love. And to shew that this honest woman was not of this badde inclination alone, you shall understande that a brother of hers, being but fourteene or fifteene yeares of age, was openly burnt in Goa for sodome or buggery, which was done when Francis King and his father in lawe were living: yet could not Francis thereby bee warned to take heede of his wife and that kindred: for as it seemeth [it was Gods will][2] he should end his dayes in that manner.

The 16. of September 1588. there arived in Goa a shippe of Portingall, called the S. Thomas, bringing newes of 4. shippes more, that were in Mosambique, all come from Portingall, which not long after came likewise to Goa: their names were, Saint Christopher being Admirall, S. Marie, S. Anthony, and our Lady of Conseprao.[3] By those shippes we receyved newes

[1] Orig. Dutch: "presumptuous".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "his fate and planet had ordained".
[3] Read: Conceição.

of the death of my Lord the Archbishoppe, called Don Frey Vincente da Fonseca, who died in his voyage to Portingall, upon the 4. day of August, An. 1587, betweene the Flemish Islandes, and Portingall, eight daies before the ship came to land. It was thought that he dyed of [some] poyson, that he brought out of India, or els of some impostume that sodainely brake within him, for that an houre before his death he seemed to be as well as ever he was in all his life, and sodainly he was taken so sick yt. he had not the leasure to make his will, but dyed presently, and voyded at the least a quart of poyson out of his body. To be short, he was cloathed in his Bishops apparell, with his Myter on his heade, and rings upon his fingers, and put into a coffin, and so throwne into the sea. These newes made many sorrowfull hartes in India, of such as were his welwillers and frindes: and to the contrarie such as hated him, were glad [and reioyced,] because he had beene earnest to reprehend and correct them for their faultes: but none lost more by it then wee that were his servantes, which looked for great preferment by him, as without doubt hee ment to have obtained it of the King, as being one of the principallest occasions of his going into Portingal, but death altred all. And although at that time my meaning and intent was, to stay the comming of my Lord Archbishop, & to continue longer there, yea possible while I lived: yet upon those newes I was wholly altered in my purpose, [and a horrible feare came upon me, when I called to mind what I had passed touching the things I was desirous to bring to passe].[1] And although I had means enough there to get my living in good sort, being[2] as it were one of those countrimen,[3] and so [in all places] well esteemed and accounted of, yet those perswasions were not of force inough once to disswade

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and I began to loathe what was formerly agreeable to me".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "being skilful".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "as if I were a native".

mee from the pretence and desire I had to see my native countrey: so that it seemed [my] God had opened mine eies, and by my Lords death made me more cleare of sight, & to call my native soile unto remembrance, which before was so darkened, that I [had almost forgotten it, and] stood in hazarde never to see it more, if my Lord had lived and returned home again. But to avoide all occasions and inconveniences[1] that might happen, & dayly offred themselves unto me, I resolutely determined to depart, where unto I sought al the meanes & necessary occasions I could find to bring it to passe: and that which perswaded me most thereunto, was the losse of my brother William Tin, that had beene with me in India, who sailing from Setubal in Portingal towards Hamborough, taking their course on the back side of England, was cast away, and never could be heard of, neyther ship nor men. Being in this resolution, it chaunced that a shippe by authoritie of the Viceroy, and at the request of the Farmers of Pepper was appointed to saile for Portingall, because there was so great quantitie of Pepper to be laden, that the Portingall ships at that time being there could not take it in: and although the ships are purposely sent to lade Pepper, with licence from the King that there may no more but five ships lade everie yeare, whereunto the Factors[2] do bind themselves, yet if there bee any goods in India, as Pepper & other wares, which the other ships can not take in, then the Farmers of Pepper and the kinges officers may buy[3] one or two[4] ships, [and make them ready for the purpose to take it in,] so that there be [ships] found that bee sufficient: which if the Factors[5] refuse, then the Viceroy and the kings officers may fraight as many ships as they thinke good, and as they find fit to take it in, and lade them with the Farmers pepper, or any

[1] Orig. Dutch: "obstacles".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "they".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "buy or dispose of".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "more".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "they".

other goods that are there to be laden, so it bee after the five shippes are laden by the farmers: and all this for the profit of the King, without let or hinderance of the said farmers. In this sorte [as I said before,] there was a shippe called the Santa Crus, that was built in Cochijn by the King of the Malabares, and called after the name of the towne of Cochijn, that was likewise by ye Portingals called Santa Crus, which the King of Malabares made in honor of the Portingalles, because he hath brotherly allyance with them, and is by the King of Portingall called our brother in armes. The same ship he had sold unto a Portingal, that therwith had made a voiage into China and Iapan, being of 1600. tunnes: and because it was strong and good, & so fit to make a voiage into Portingall, and because (as I said before) there was more pepper then the Portingall ships could take in, the farmers of pepper were desirous to buy it, & besought the Viceroy to let them have it, according to the contentes of their composition, [and the Kings ordinance]. Whereupon the Viceroy caused the farmers of the ships to be called together, & signified unto them, what the request of the farmers of pepper was, that is to say, that the shippe should be bought according to the Kings ordinance, for as much as necessity did so require it, & they [had] refused [to use] it, & said that it was not fit for them,[1] & so desired yt.[2] in respect of the Kings interest in[3] the pepper, [the shippe might be bought accordingly].[4] Alwaies provided, yt. the kings ordinance [(who granted them their Priviledge)] might be kept & observed, viz. that their ships might first have their lading, and bee first dispatched.[5] [And although

[1] Orig. Dutch: "that it was unconvenient to them".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "and when he desired to buy it".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "and" (that of).

[4] Orig. Dutch: "they gave him permission".

[5] Orig. Dutch: (add) "although they afterwards repented of it, for they supposed they should not find wares enough to load them, but they had little less as the other ships. So the ship was bought (whereunto the farmers of the pepper lend the money from the kings treasure)"....

they that had bought it of the owners] for ten thousand duckets readie money[1] [were in doubt that they should not finde wares enough to lade it withall, yet in the end it was in a manner laden as well as the other ships were. Nowe it was agreed by the owners that sold it, that the] Maister Gunner and chiefe Boteswaine shoulde keepe their places stil within the shippe as they had when it sailed to China and Iapen. The Gunners name was Diricke Garitson of Enchusen,[2] who after he had beene 20. yeares in India, was minded as then to saile in that shippe to Portingall, with whome because of olde acquaintance, and for his company, I minded to see if I could get any place within the shippe. And because the farmers of pepper had their factors in India, that were Dutchmen, which lay there in the behalfe of the Foukers and Velfares[3] of Ausburg, who at that time had a part of the pepper [laden in that ship] and use to send in each ship a Factor, to whome the King alloweth a Cabine and victuails for the voyage: This place of Factor in the said shippe called Santa Crus, I did obtaine of the Farmers,[4] because they were of my acquaintance. Whereupon I prepared my selfe to depart, and got a Pasporte of the Viceroy, without which no man may passe out of India, as also a Certificat out of the Kinges chamber of accountes, and out of the Matricola generall, wherein all such as come into India are registred, with a note of my paye,[5] which by the Kings commandement is [appointed to bee] paide [uppon certificate from thence],[6] and

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "on condition that the same officers as the Master", etc.

[2] See respecting him, p. 209, *ante*.

[3] Orig. Dutch: "die Fuckaren ende Velsares"; *i.e.*, the famous firms of Fugger and Welser at Augsburg, that from the beginning of the sixteenth century had lent their funds to the Portuguese Government, and sent their factors to India.

[4] Orig. Dutch: (add) "or their clerks".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "with their pay".

[6] Orig. Dutch: "with certification of the sum for which the King remains indebted".

[withall] the time of [my] residence in India, and what place [I was] imployed in there, [that when I came into Portingall, I might have recompence if I would aske it, or][1] minded to returne againe into India. But although I had no such intent, yet I must of force observe this order, to make[2] them thinke I would returne againe, [and] the easier to obtaine my Pasport, which was easily graunted mee by the Governour, as also the other Certificates: and having obtayned them I tooke my leave of all my friends and acquaintance, not without great griefe, as hee that was to depart out of his second naturall dwelling place,[3] by reason of the great and long continuance that I had made in those countries, so that I was in a manner halfe disswaded from my pretended voyage. But in the end the remembrance and affection of my true natural countrie, got the upper hand, and over ruled me,[4] making me wholy to forget my conceipt unto the contrarie: and so committing my selfe & my affaires unto God, who onely can direct and helpe us, and give good successe to all endevours, I entred into my new pretended course.

In the Month of November 1588, the ships sayled againe from Goa, to the coast of Malabar & Cochijn, to take in their lading: [And] the 23. of the same month, the Santa Crus set sayle to begin our Viage. The 28. day we arrived in Honor, a Fort belonging to the Portingals, and the first they have uppon the coast of Malabar, which lyeth Southward from Goa eighteene miles, in which place we were assigned to take in our lading of Pepper. They used not before to lade any Pepper in that place, so that we were the first that ever laded there: but from thence forwards, they minded yearely to lade one ship there, because the Quéene of Batticola[5]

[1] Orig. Dutch: "for the case that in Portugal any recompense is required by those that are".....

[2] Orig. Dutch: "making".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "second fatherland".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "overruled the last affections".

[5] Baikul, or Baitkul, called by the Portuguese "Báticala".

(that lay not farre from thence) and Honor, being within her Iurisdiction or kingdom, had bound her selfe, yearely to deliver seaven or eight thousand Quintales of Pepper, so that the Farmers paied her halfe ye mony for the same, sixe Months before shee delivered it, and then shee would deliver it at times. For the which cause the Farmers have their Factor in Honor to receive it of her by waight, and lay it up till the time of lading commeth. The like have they in all the other Fortes uppon the coast of Malabar, as at Mangalor, Barselor, Cananor, Cochijn, Coulan, &c. Nowe to know the right manner of farming of the Pepper, you must understand that the Farmers take the same to Farme for five yeres, and bind themselves every yeare to send their stocke of readie money, for thirtie thousand Quintales of Pepper, so that the King will send ships to lade it in. The King on the other side bindeth himselfe to [performe, and to] send everie yeare five ships, the Farmers bearing the adventure of the Sea both of their mony sending thether and of the Pepper brought from thence, & must lade it in India, into the ships at their owne costs and charges: which being brought into Portingall, they deliver al the Pepper to the King at the price of twelve Ducats the Quintall: & if any bee cast away or taken upon the Sea, it is at the Farmers charge,[1] for the King dealeth not but onely with that which is delivered him [in Portingall, being] drie and [faire laide up] in the Kings store house[2] in Lisbone: for the which he payeth not any money unto the Farmers, untill the said Pepper be sold, with the mony wherof he payeth them: so that the King without any hazard or disbursing any thing of his owne, hath alwaies his money for his Pepper, without the losse of[3] any one pennie. And in that respect the Farmers have great and strong priviledges: first that no man of what estate or

[1] Orig. Dutch: "damage".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "in the house of India".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "without advancing".

condition so ever he bee, either Portingall, or of any place in India, may deale or trade in Peper, but they, upon paine of death, which is verie sharply looked unto. Likewise they may not for any occasion or necessitie, whatsoever, diminish[1] or lessen the ordinarie stocke of money for the Pepper, neither hinder [or let] them in any sorte concerning the lading thereoff, [which is also verie strictly observed].[2] [For although the Pepper were for the Kings owne person, yet must][3] the [Farmers] Pepper be first laden, to whome the Viceroy and other Officers and Captaines of India, must give al assistance, helpe and favour, with watching [the same] and al other things whatsoever shall by the said Farmers bee required for the safetie and benefite of the saide Pepper. For the lading and providing wherof, the said Farmers are to send their Factors, servants, and assistants, of what nation so ever they bee, (except Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Spaniards) [unto every place, to see it laden and dispatched away,] for other strangers may not goe into India without the speciall licence of the King, or his counsell of India. The Pepper commonly costeth in India 28. Pagodes the Bhar, (everie Bhar is three Quintales and a halfe Portingall waight) so that every Quintall standeth them in twelve Pardawes, Xeraffins, and foure Tangoes. Everie Quintall is 128. pounds, and everie Pardawe three Testones or thirtie Stivers heavie money, and every Tanga, sixtie Reijs, or sixe Stivers, which is twelve Dollers[4] of sixtie pence[5] Flemish the peece, after the rate of Portingall money, and twentie foure Stivers of the like money, besides all charges & adventure of the Seas. But the great quantitie maketh

[1] Orig. Dutch: "touch".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "with all possible survey and diligence".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "For all affairs, even those which touch the countrie or the kings person, must be set aside and"....

[4] Orig. Dutch: "Daelders".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "grooten". A "groote" was one-third part of a penny or stiver. (See "*Kiliani Dictionarium*".)

them gaine the more,[1] specially if it come safe home. The ships & their frayghting, with condition to builde them, and the provision of all necessaries for them, are also farmed by themselves, and all at the adventure of the Farmers: and if the ship come safe home, they give the King a certaine summe of money for every ship, and every yeare furnish[2] five shippes, [likewise] at their owne charges: [but such Souldiers as are appointed to goe in them, are bound to sayle for ye King, and have but onely meate and drinke at the Farmers charge],[3] the Officers and Saylers being placed therein by the Kings Admiraltie; which the Farmers may not once denie or refuse: so that the King adventureth nothing, neither in Pepper nor in ships, but only if the ships be cast away, he looseth the money that hee should have had for the farme of every ship, if it had returned safe, & the gaine of the Pepper that should have beene delivered him, at a certaine price. Whereupon[4] the Admiraltie of Portingall are now waxen verie carelesse to see them well conveied, as they used to be during the times of the Kings of Portingall, when all the Pepper[5] came for the Kings own accounts. And although the king hath promised continually to send his Navie by Sea, as far as the Flemish Ilands, there to stay for the comming of the Indian ships, and from thence to conveye them unto Lisbone, yet since they were Farmed out there are few fleetes sent forth, so that they are but little thought upon, but howsoever it is in the payment [of the fee Farme, for Pepper] the King will not loose a pennie of his due, nor once abate them any thing.

The sixth of December wee had taken in our lading of

[1] Orig. Dutch: "makes the profit".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "they must prepare and despatch".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "moreover they must carry the soldiers for nothing, and give them food".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "For which reason".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "all the ships and pepper".

Pepper, which was 6700. Quintales of the best that is in all Malabar, and verie ful. The same day we set sayle from thence, keeping close under the coast, because that ordinarily in that countrie, every day from twelve of the clocke of the night, till twelve at noone there bloweth an Easterly winde, which commeth out of the land: and then commeth a West wind out of the Sea, to the landward, and with those two windes we performe our Viage: but the East winde is alwaies mightier and stronger then the West, and therefore the shippes keepe themselves close under the shore, for when they put further into the Sea, they can hardly get the coast againe, because the West wind is not of so great force: as it chanced unto us, for that having put somewhat from the coast, we had much to doe before wee could get the coast againe, by the which meanes often times they loose[1] their Viages into Portingal, as by experience it hath beene found. All the coast of Malabar is verie pleasant to behold: for that they sayle so close unto it that a man may tell everie hill, valley and tree that is therein, being verie greene and faire land.

The eleaventh of December wee came to Cananor, another fortresse of the Portingales, as we have told you in the description of this coast. There we lay a day and a halfe, to take in certaine Mastes, with other provision yt. we were to use, which is there in great abundance: & so wee set sayle againe, keeping along the coast, and passed by Calecut, Panane, and certaine other places untill the twentie foure of December, when wee arrived at Cochijn, where we lay till the twentie of Ianuarie after in Anno 1589. In the meane time our shippe was provided of all things necessarie, and then we stayed till our turne came to set sayle, because the other shippes according to the contract were to set sayle before us, one after the other, which custome I will here

[1] Orig. Dutch: "they should loose".

[partly] set down in briefe. You shall understand, that as soone as the shippe hath taken in her lading of Pepper, which is done with great care and diligent watch, as well in the Kings behalfe, as of the Farmers, and is laden in the two nether Oorlopes, that is upon the Balast, and in the Oorlop next over it, laying Deale boords upon the Balast, and making certaine places and devisions for the purpose, with a hole over each place, to shutte in the Pepper, leaving roome by the maine Mast to passe by it, so that there is [at the least][1] thirtie severall places, which they call Payoos, and all under the two lower Oorlopes as I said before. Which beeing all filled with Pepper, they shut the holes of those places verie close, with Ocam and Pitch, and so are marked with numbers how many there are, and upon ech place his waight of Peper. These two Oorloppes being thus laden, there is left a place aboute the maine Mast to bestow water, wine, woode, and other necessaries for the shippe, which are dayly used. In the thirde[2] Oorlop and on both sides therof, there are divers places severally made that belong unto the Officers of the shippe, as the Captaine, Master, Pilot, Factor, Purser, &c. and of all the rest of the Saylors that are allowed places: which they sell or let out unto the Marchants, to lade goods therein, whereof they make good profite. Upon the same Oorlop from the Mast unto the sterne, are the places wher they put their Poulder, Bisket, Sayles, clothes and other provisions for the ship. The other Oorlopes[3] [above these] are laden by the Marchants, with all sorts of wares, which are in Chestes, Fattes, Balles, and Packes, and are placed in this sort, that is to say. As soone as the Pepper is laden, there is presently sent into the shippe two waiters, and one that stoweth the goodes [(as a Porter)] on the Kings behalfe: and he hath ten or twelve Porters under him, that must only lade

[1] Orig. Dutch: "nearly".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "Above the second".
[3] Orig. Dutch: (add) "and places of the ship".

and stow the goodes in the shippe, the Master nor any other [not once] having any thing to doe with it, saving onely the chiefe Boteswaine, who is to looke unto it, and yet commaundeth nothing. No goods may bee laden whatsoever, or how small so ever they bee, but they must bee Registred in the Kinges bookes, and they must bring a Billet from the Veador da Fasenda, that is to saye, the Surveighor of the businesse, being chief Officer for the King,[1] wherein must be certified everie kind of ware by peeceмeale, which they lade, together with ye name of the ship, wherein it is to be laden, for without that Certificat, the stowers and Porters[2] will not take it in: and although you have your Billet, yet must you bribe the waiters, before you can get it abord the shippe, and some thing must be given likewise to the porters besides their duties, if you desire to stow your goods well, otherwise they will let it stand, and he that giveth most hath the best place in the shippe: yea and they stow the ship so miserablie full, that there is not a hole [or an emptie place to be found] but it is full stuffed: and for all[3] their profit; it is often times seene, that the chief Porter, that doth onlie command and looke over the rest, getteth for his part in bribes for stowage of a ship, sometimes seven or 800. Dukats, and the waiters as much, and all this onlie by gifts. Those offices are given by favour of the Viceroy and the Veador de Fasenda, which is the cause that the ships are often times laden so ful, that they are [in manner] ready to sinke: so that a man would think it were impossible for them either to row or stirre: because ye sailers & officers of the ships have nothing to doe therewith untill the last hour that it setteth sayl, & then it is delivered into their handes, and the waiters and porters goe their waies, leaving the ship ful in every place even to the uppermost Oarlop, where there standeth com-

[1] Orig. Dutch: "that is, the upper surveyor of the king's goods".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "the waiters and stowers".
[3] Read: "all for".

monlie 7. or 8. chestes, one above the other, both in the sterne and foreshippe, upon the cables, [in] the forecastell, in the stirrige,[1] and in every place, [which are all] ful of great pots, fattes, chests, hennes cages, and such like, so that it seemeth [rather] a Labyrinth [or a Maze then a ship]: and so they commit themselves to the grace of God and set sayle: and often times it falleth out, that of 50. saylers [which are above the ship (as it did in our ship)] not above 10. of them could tell how to steere or handle the Ruther: & besides that, most of them were never at sea before, but by favor get their places, [as all the rest doe,][2] so that when occasion serveth, being at sea, they stand looking one upon an other, doing nothing but cry Misericordia, and our Lady helpe us.

In Cochijn there are a great number of botes called Tones,[3] that are cut out of one peece of wood, and yet some of them are so great, that a man may lade 20. pipes of water in them. These they carrie abord the ships, that lie at the least a mile within the sea, and there they make price with them for a small summe of money, and then they goe and fill the pipes themselves, with pots which they have for the purpose, and it is a great commoditie [unto them]. This water is brought out of the river of Cochijn called Mangate, & it is verie good. Touching the towne and country of Cochin, I have already declared in the description of the coast of Malabar, so that this shall suffice [to shew you what][4] the countrie of India [is]: and now I will shew unto you the manner that is used in the ships when they sayle home againe: which in part I have alreadie touched, as also our departure and voyage from India to Lisbon.

[1] Orig. Dutch: "behind where the pilot has his seat".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "insghelijcks vande Putgers ende Busschieters" (also the shipboys and gunner's mates). "Putger" is, p. 486 of vol. i, translated by "swabber", as both words designate the office to clean the ship.

[3] See p. 191, *ante*.

[4] Orig. Dutch: "about".

THE 93. CHAPTER.

Of my voyage and departure from India to Portingale.

The first of Ian. 1589. the Santa Maria set sayle, and because it was one of the oldest shippes, it was first dispatched away, by reason that the sooner the depart from Cochin, they came in better time to the Cape de Bona Speranza, and the later they come thether, the more storms & foule wether they have, because as then the Sunne goeth further into the North, and leaveth the South parts. Therefore commonly they let the best and strongest shippes goe last, because they are best able to hold out: and in the Iland of S. Helena they stay one for the other untill the 25. day of May, & no longer, which is the time appointed by the king, and so goe in company together unto Portingale, for from India unto the Iland of S. Helena they need not keepe company, because all that way they feare no Rovers, and [from thence] they have all their Cannon shot pulled in, the better to passe the foule wether at the cape de bona Speranza. The 6. of Ianuary, the ship called our Ladie de Consepcao set sayle, the 10. of the same, the Admirall called S. Christopher: the 12. the S. Anthony: the 15. the S. Thomas, which was the greatest and the best shippe in all the Fleet, and richest of lading: and the 20. of the same Moneth, wee set sayle, in our ship called the Santa Crus, being the last, wherein was about 200. men [of all sorts] as saylers, soldiers, and slaves: for from India there goe but few soldiers without the Viceroyes passeport,[1] [by vertue whereof they goe] to present their services, and to fetch [their payes and duties for the same].[2] And this they doe after they have served in India some yeares, & also when they have abilitie to passe over:

[1] Orig. Dutch: "with permission of the Viceroy".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "any remuneration".

for, when they are poore, and have no helpe, they must stay in India, [even] for necessities sake, because they haye no means to procure their passage, so that manie of them are constrayned to tarrie there, and to marrie with Mores[1] and Indian women, the better to maintain themselves, although it be with miserie enough. For the charges of a mans voiage out of India into Portingal, is at the least 200 or 300 Pardawes, and that onlie for meate and drinke, which a poore soldier can hardly compasse, unlesse[2] [he can procure] some gentleman, Captaine, or some wealthy man in office, [to be favorable unto him,] in helping him to performe his iourney. For in the voyages homewards the king giveth nothing to the soldiers and passingers, but free passage, for him self and a chest of 4. spannes high and broad, and 7. in length: and that after they have bene 3. yeares in India, & for that Chest they pay neither fraught nor custome: they likewise have a Chest in the roomage, free of fraight, for which they pay custome:[3] and this[4] they may sell in India to any Marchant, as they commonlie doe, and is worth [unto them at the least] 40 or 50 Pardawes. These places they call liberties, and hee that buyeth them, registreth them in the name of him that he buyeth them of, to the end that in Portingale they may enioy the same libertie and priviledge: all the saylers and Officers also of the shippes that [sayl in them from Portingal,][5] have likewise besides their places in the ships, the forage of such a chest allowed them, full[6] of custome and fraight. All these thinges are very sharply looked unto: for although the ships and goods are farmed, yet when they arive at Lisbon, all the

[1] Orig. Dutch: "Swartinnen" (black women).

[2] Orig. Dutch: (add) "he has any kindred that helps him, or the favour of".....

[3] Orig. Dutch: "ende sommige tol van dien" (and some free of custom ?).

[4] *I.e.*, "this place".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "that are registered from the voyage in Portugal".

[6] Read: "free".

chests are brought into the Indian house, and there visited, to see if any goods be in them, that is forbidden to be brought out of India, as pepper, Anill, or Indigo, and other such wares as are farmed of the king: & if any be found, it is presently forfaited, and all the wares that are in such chests, are likewise valued, so that if they amount unto more then the value of 1000[1] Milreyes, they must pay custome for the overplus, which in the tyme of the kings of Portingale was not used: for then they were accustomed to carrie their chestes home, and to shew them only to the waiters: and although the [poore] saylers [and Officers] doe much complayne for the losse & breaking of their liberties, yet can they not be heard[2]: and thus there come but few Soldiers out of India, for the causes aforesayd: for I certainlie beleeve that of 1500 Soldiers and more yt. yearelie are sent thether out of Portingal, there returneth not a hundreth again, some dying there in the countrie, others beeing cast away [and slayne by divers occasions,] and the rest by povertie not able to returne againe: and so against their willes are forced to stay in the Countrie. If anie of them doe chance to come, it is with some Viceroy, Captaine, or other Gentleman, or person, that hath borne office or authoritie: and when such men come over, they alwaies take some Soldiers with them, to whome they give meate and drinke, and yet are such as are of their acquaintance, and that long before had bene at their commandements: which they doe for the most part upon a certaine pryde and vaine glorie:[3] and in this sort there may yearelie come 20 or 30 Soldiers over in each Shippe, which have their Slaves and Blacke [Mores] with them: so that they come cleane and sweet[4] home, both for Linnen and other thinges, because Linnen in India is verie good cheap: and

[1] Read: "100".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "they are little heard".
[3] Orig. Dutch: (add) "and to obtain authority".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "well served and clean".

the Shippes when they returne home, are cleaner then when they set out of Portingale, because they have fewer men in them, and such as come out of India, bring all their necessaries with them, besides that the shippe is [verie] sweete, by reason of the spice that is laden in it.

The partition of the ship is in this manner, the Pilot hath his Cabbin above in the hinder part of the shippe, on the right side, where he hath two or three roomes, and never commeth [under hatches, nor] downe [into the foreship,] but standeth only and commaundeth the Master of the ship to hoise or let fall the sailes, and to looke unto his course, how they shall steere to take the height of the sunne, & every day to write and marke what passeth, and how they saile, with what tokens, winde and weather they have everie day: the Master hath his Cabin in the same place, behind the Pilotes Cabins, on the left hand, with as manie places and roomes as the Pylot hath, where he standeth and commandeth, with a silver whistle, & looketh onlie to the Mayne Maste and her Sayles, and so backwards: yet he hath the care of all the Shippe, and whatsoever belongeth to it; and commandeth all thinges, as to make & mend the sayls, which he cutteth out, & the saylers sow them: he looketh also if there be any fault in the shippe, and causeth it to be mended, & as need requireth, to draw their Cannon in, and againe to put it out. If hee wanteth any thing, as cloth for sailes, nailes, ropes, or any such like thinges, as are needful, he must aske them of the Factor and purser of the shippe, which presently are delivered unto him, with a note of his hand in the booke to be accountable for it. The Chiefe Boteson hath his Cabbin in the forecastle, and hath commandement and governement over the Fouke mast and the fore sayles: hee hath also a silver whistle like the master, and taketh care for all thinges belonging to the Fouke maste, and for the fast binding of the ankers. The Guardian or quartermaster hath his Cabbin close by the great mast outward on the left hand, for on the

right hand standeth the scullerie and kitchin [where they dresse their meat], he weareth a silver whistle and hath charge to see the swabers pumpe[1] to make the ship cleane, to looke to the ropes & cause them to bee mended, and to the boate which he commonly ruleth:[2] the Gunner hath his Cabbin inward from the mast, hard by the Ruther under the first Oorlope, and must alwaies sit by the maine mast looking uppon the master both night and day, that as the Master whistleth to will the Gunners to draw in their peeces, or to thrust them out, he may bee readie so to doe: he likewise taketh care for the peeces and the thinges belonging to them: when they have cause to use them, the under Pilot doth nothing but helpe the chiefe Pilot & watch[3] his quarter: they have likewise two or three of the best saylers, that doe nothing els but command in the Pilots roome when he sleepeth. The saylers have most of their Cabins in the forecastle, and there abouts, & the Gunners behinde by the master Gunner, under the upper decke, and doe nothing els but with their instruments put the great peeces forth, or draw them in as they are commanded, the swabers must doe all whatsoever they are bidden[4] to doe by the officers, but never touch the Ruther: for the saylers doe only steere and rule the ship when need requireth, but not the pumpe, neyther doe they hoyse up the maine sayle, for the souldiers and slaves use to doe that, the swabers pumpe, & the Carpenter doth such worke as is to bee done, the Cooper in like sort and the Calker, so that if the shippe were sincking, not any of them will doe more than belongeth to his charge, and what further is to bee done, they will stande still & looke uppon it:

[1] Orig. Dutch: "heeft het bevel over die putgers, en te doen pompen", etc. (has the commandment of the boys, to let them pump, etc.). See p. 227, *ante*.

[2] Orig. Dutch: "to see to the boat and rule it", etc..

[3] Orig. Dutch: "relieve".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "ordered".

the Captaine hath the Gallerie and the Cabbin behind, he commandeth onely over the souldiers, & such as watch by night, the Pilot, Master, and the Boteson, are served in very good sorte with their silver lampes,[1] beakers,[2] cups, & bowles, every man by himselfe, [and are waited on] by their slaves and servants, and have enough of every thing, but the other saylers & swabers have not such store, but indure more hardnes, for every man must provide for himselfe, as we told you before. Now you must understand that in their[3] ships there is no averidge: for that when there happeneth any losse, or that any goods are throwne over board, hee standeth to the losse that oweth the goods, without any more accounts, and that commonly falleth out upon the poore swabers, for they usually have their chestes standing uppon the hatches because they have nothing to give unto the Porters that they might have a good place for them, as the others of greater abilitie use to doe, and when any storme or hurt chanceth, then they throw the thinges overboard, that first comes to hand, without respect of persons or anye averidge to bee made.

In this sort setting saile, we held our course south south East for the space of 150 miles, till we came to the Equinoctiall line, & from thence till we were under seaven degrees in the same course, and from thence south West [and] by West, unto the cape de Bona Speranza, which way was never used before that time, for they used to saile from Cochiin south west, and south west [and] by South, betweene the Islands of Maldiva, and a thousand other Islands and sands, unto the Iland of Saint Laurence, and so to the cape: but after that the Pilot had lost the Saint Iames[4] upon the shallowes of India, and escaped alive (and was now Pilot in

[1] Orig. Dutch: "Lampetten" (lavers).
[2] Orig. Dutch: "Beckens" (basins).
[3] Orig. Dutch: "these".
[4] Santiago.

the Saint Thomas, beeing the best shippe in all our Fleete) hee had the fore Voiage,[1] and kept aloofe two or three hundred miles out into the Sea, cleane from all Islandes, sandes or cliffes: saying that[2] the casting away of so many ships (whereof no newes or tidinges could ever be heard) was, that they were cast away upon the sands, even as it chanced unto him, and to avoide the dangers thereof, as also to winne the favour of the King and the officers of the Admiraltie, he was the first that tooke upon him to discover that way, with the ship wherein my Lord the Archbishop sayled, and is almost the same way that the shippes that come from Malacca do hold when they saile to Portingall, where they see neither Ilands nor Sandes, nor any other thing but onelie the plaine sea, & so hee came into Portingale, certifying [the Admiraltie of] that new way, and although he was cast in prison [for the same cause,] yet by favor he was presently released, and the Admiraltie perceaving it to be so great a danger for the ships to saile amongst the [Islands and] Sands, (which they thought to bee the chiefe cause of the losse of so manie ships) have expresly commanded that the Pilots should use that new discovered way, according to the saide Pilots information, therby to avoide all danger: but that is not the cause of their casting away,[3] although many times they are the means of much mischiefe: but the chiefe reason is the unreasonable lading, and charging of the ships, the unskilfull seamen, and the slacke visiting or searching of the ships, to see if they bee fit to sayle, and have all thinges that they want.

By these and such like meanes the ships are dayly lost, as in other places by examples and true witnesses[4] I have already declared, and as the same Pilot that first founde this

[1] Orig. Dutch: "this same (pilot) had begun in the foregoing voyage the outward course".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "presuming that the reason of".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "but the faults lie not therein".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "historics".

new way, did well approve and verifie to bee true, in the Saint Thomas, that the Sands or Islands did him no hurt, but onely the overlading of her, wherewith the ship was by the Cape burst in peeces, as hereafter I will shew. Notwithstanding this way is not therefore to be disliked, although it bee somewhat further about, but it is a very good way and wholly out of all danger of Sandes and Islandes, whereby they doe avoid the Island[1] of Maldiva, with other droughtes and sands about[2] the same.

The 30. day of Ianuarie in the night, we passed the Equinoctiall line, and the next day after we discried a shippe which we thought to bee the Saint Thomas, and the same day one of our Boyes fell overboard, whome to save wee made all the haste wee could to get out our small boate, but because it stood full of thinges,[3] we could not so soone get it forth, but that in the meane time the boy was [cast] at the least two miles behind us, and so was drowned.

The third of Februarie the ship (we saw) came close by us,[4] and then wee knew it to be the Saint Thomas, wherewith wee made towards it[5] to speake [with them]: but when they began to know our shippe by the ropes, that were all white, made of Indian Cairo, [and] knowing that we were left behind them at Cochiin, and thinking[6] when they descried us, wee had beene one of the shippes that first set saile, [as also that][7] their ship was accounted one of the best for sayle in all the fleete: for very pride and high stomacke they would not stay to speake with us, but made from us againe: which our officers perceiving, did likewise winde from them, every one doing his best to get before the other.

[1] Read: "Islands".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "about and past".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "of goods and lumber of the master".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "we came close by the ship".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "we approached one another".
[6] Orig. Dutch: "while at first they thought".
[7] Orig. Dutch: "now, because".

By this and such like signes of pride, the Portingales do often cast themselves away, and as it may bee coniectured, it was one of the chiefe causes of the losse of the Saint Thomas: for that they used all the meanes they could to sayle well, and that they might passe the Cape before us, wherof they use to brag, when they meete at the Island of Saint Helena, as if it were done by their wisdome: for so it fell out with the Saint Thomas, that comming to the cape de Bona Speranza, it had a contrarie winde, whereby they strucke all their sailes, and so lay driving against the waves of the sea, which doe there fall against a shippe, as if it stroke against a Hill:[1] so that if the Shippes were of hard stones, yet in the end they would breake in péeces, much more such Shippes as are made of wood; and this is commonly their manner, thereby the sooner to passe the Cape: which our shippe could not beare, so that we put backe againe with the winde, yet as little as we might, thereby to avoide the force of the sea as much as we could: but because the Pilot of the Saint Thomas trusted overmuch in her strength, & did purposely meane to be before us all, thereby as hee thought to win the praise, the ship did (as it well appeared) lie still and drive without any sailes, which they call Payrar, and so by the great force [and strength] of the seas, together with the overlading, was striken in peeces, & swallowed in the sea, both men and all that was within her, as wee might well perceive comming unto the Cape, by the swimming of whole chests, fats, balles, peeces of masts, & dead men tied unto bords, and such like fearefull tokens: the other ships also that arived in the Iland of Saint Helena, told us likewise that they had seene the like, most pittifull sights, which was no small losse of so great treasure, and so many men: so that we which beheld it, thought our selves not free from the like danger. It was one of the richest ships, that in many yeares had sayled out of India, & only by reason of the good report it

[1] Orig. Dutch: "as if it were mountains".

had to be so good of sayle, being but new, for as then it was but her second voyage: so that everie man desired to goe, and to lode their wares in her. In the same ship went' Don Paulo de Lyma Periera,[1] that raised the siege before Malacca, & had served the king 30. yeares in India, & had obtained many brave victories, thinking as then to be in the top of his honor, and to be much advanced by the king. He [also] carried with him a great treasure in Iewels and other riches, as also his wife, children, and one of his brethren, with many other gentlemen and souldiers that bare him company, thinking to have good fortune in their Voiage: there were likewise 10. or 12. gentlewomen, some of them having their husbands in the ship, others whose husbandes were in Portingall, so that to conclude it was full of people, and most of the Gentilitie of India,[2] [& in all our ships] there were many that seeing us in daunger would say they might have gone safely in the Saint Thomas, thinking it unpossible that it should bee cast awaie. Therefore it is manifestly seene, that all the works [and navigations] of men are but meer vanities, and that wee must onely put our trust in God, for that if God be not with us [in our actions], all our labour is in vaine.[3] But returning to our matter, each shippe did their best to be first, untill the seventeenth of Februarie that we got before the S. Thomas, being in the South under seven degrees, and from that time forwards we saw her no more, but onely the tokens of the casting of her away about the Cape de bona Speranza, which after being at the Island of S. Helena, was tolde us more at large. The same day we had a great storme of wind and raine, so that the Ruther of our great maste[4] by force of the Sea was broken. And from the line we had a North and northwest wind with continuall raynes, stormes and

[1] Read: "Pereira".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "and the very choice of India and the whole fleet".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "strength is lost and science nothing".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "yard of the top-mast".

fowle weather, never ceasing untill wee came under 20. degrees, which was upon the 25. of Februarie, and then wee had a Southeast wind, with fayrer weather (called by the Portingalles the generall wind) which they commonly finde and looke for under 12. degrees:[1] the cause whereof wee thought to be, for that we had put so farre into the sea, out of the common way. This wind commonly holdeth unto 27. or 28. degrees little more or lesse, and then they must looke for all kindes of windes and weathers, untill they come to[2] the Cape de Bona Speranza, without any certainty of winds.

The 5. of March being under 25. degrees, we had an East winde, with a most great storme, and [exceeding] raine, so that our Ruther-staffe brake, and two more that we had in the shippe, one after the other being put unto it broke likewise, with the pinne and ye ioynt wherein the ende of the Ruther hung: and we were forced to lie and drive without steering, having stricken all our sayles, and the shippe so tossed by the waves on all sides, that wee had not one drie place in all the ship. In this sort wee lay driving for the space of two dayes and two nights together, with a continuall storme and fowle weather with rayne. The same night we saw uppon the maine yarde, and in many other places a certaine signe, which the Portingalles call Corpo Santo, or the holy body of brother Peter Gonsalves, but the Spaniards call it S. Elmo, and the Greekes (as ancient writers rehearse, and Ovid among the rest) used to call it Helle and Phryxus. Whensoever that signe sheweth upon the Maste or maine yarde,[3] or in any other place, it is commonly thought, that it is a signe of better weather: when they first perceive it, the maister or the chiefe boteswaine whistleth, and commaundeth every man to salute it with a Salve corpo Santo, and a misericordia, and with a very great cry [and exclamation]. This

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "but we did not get it but in 20 degrees".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "until beyond".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "mars ofte groote ra" (topsail or main yard).

constellation (as Astronomers doe write) is ingendred of great moysture and vapors, and sheweth like a candle that burneth dimly, and skippeth from one place to another, never lying still. We saw five of them together, all like the light of a candle which made mee wonder, and I should have hardly beleeved it, but that I saw it, and looked verie earnestly upon it: and although it was fowle weather, whereby I had no great leasure to think uppon such curious thinges, notwithstanding I came purposely from under the hatches to note it. Those five lights the Portingals cal Coroa de nossa Senhora, that is, déere[1] Ladies Crowne, and have great hope therein when they see it. And therewithall our men being all in great feare and heavines, [and almost out of hope], began again to revive and to be glad, as if thereby they had beene fully assured of better comfort.

The seventh of March wee had better weather, and then we tooke counsell[2] how to mend our Ruther: some were of opinion we shoulde saile to Mosambique, and rule the Ruther with a rope: others were of contrary opinion, and said we might mend it abord, and so performe our voyage: so that at the last we pulled certaine peeces out of the ships side, (for we had not brought one with us, as neede required) but being pulled forth, they were all too little, and woulde not serve. In the ende wee found it convenient to take one of the bosses[3] in our shippe, and thereof to make an Anvile, and of two Oxe hydes a payre of bellowes, wherewith wee went to worke: and of a peece of an olde hooke or dragge, wee tooke two or three ends, wherof but one woulde serve, and that halfe broken, and the splinters wee bounde with an Iron hoope: and so being fitted to the Ruther, wee set forwards in the name of God. This asked us two dayes worke before

[1] Read "Oure".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "and then came the difficulty".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "basse-camer" (the movable chamber that was placed in the piece of ordnance to receive the charge).

wee could dispatch it, & then we hoysed sayle again with great ioy, & gave divers almes to our Lady and the Saintes, with many promises of better life,[1] as being in misery men commonly do. The day after we tooke the height of the Sunne, and found our selves to be under 28. degrees and two thirdes, being in the height of the land called Terra Danatal,[2] although wee were at the least 400. miles to seaward from the lande, and there wee had good weather with a Southeast winde. In this countrey called Terra Donatal[2] (which reacheth to 32. degrees) and at the Cape de bona Speranza, [and] is the hardest passage that is in all the voyage, and oftentimes they feare the land of Natal more then the Cape: for there commonly is stormy and fowle weather, and many shippes have beene spoyled and cast away, as the Portingalles recordes can verie well shew. In the same countrey also wee founde the signes of the casting away of the S. Thomas, so that to conclude, commonly the shippes doe there pay tribute [by casting some lading over bord], or else leave [body and] all behind: and therefore it is called Terra Danatal; that is to say, the lande of Christmasse:[3] and for this cause they never passe it without great feare but with good watch, and great foresight: all their ropes being stiffe, [and well looked unto,] the peeces drawne in, and all chestes, pottes, fattes and other roomage that are not stowed under hatches, being throwne over borde into the sea, and every thing setled and made ready in his place: for that in this coast they have one houre fayre weather, and another houre stormie weather, in such manner as if heaven and earth should waste and be consumed. In that place [likewise] with a cleare and fayre weather there commeth a [certayne] cloude, which [in shew] seemeth no bigger then a mans fist, and therefore by the Portingals it is called Olho do Boy, (or Oxe eye) and although as then it is [cleare, and] calme weather, and that the sailes

[1] Orig. Dutch: "promises of pilgrimages and better life".
[2] Read: "do Natal".
[3] See vol. i, p. 19.

[for want of wind] do beate against the mastes, yet as soone as they perceyve that cloude, they must presently strike all their sayles: for that [commonly] it is upon the ships before they perceyve it, and with such a storme and noyse, that without al doubt it would strike a shippe into the water, if there be not great care had to looke unto it: as it chaunced to the second fleete, after the Portingalles had discovered the Indies,[1] there being ten or twelve shippes in company, which in such a calme and fayre weather let all their sailes hang, and regarded them not, [and this][2] custome [they observed] in this our navigation, for sodainely the cloud came with a most horrible storme, and fell uppon them before they coulde prevent it, whereby seven or eight of them[3] were sunke into the seas, and never heard of againe, and the rest with great hurt and much daunger escaped. But from that time forwards they looked better to themselves, and have learned to know it, so that at this present they watch for it, and yet it giveth them worke enough to doe. This storme falling over their heads in this sorte, continueth through the whole Countrey of Terra Donatal, until you passe the Cape de bona Speranza.

The 12. of March being under 31. degrees, wee were right in the winde, and[4] had a calme, whereupon we stroke all our sayles, and so lay driving 4. dayes together (which the Portingalles call Payraes[5]) having a verie high sea, which tossed our shippes in such sort, that the Saylers esteemed it to be worse then a storme: for that there the waves of the Sea mette in such sorte on all sides, and clasped the shippe in such manner betwixt them, that they made all her ribbes to

[1] This fleet sailed from Lisbon the 9th of March 1500, under the commandment of Pedro Alvares Cabral.

[2] Orig. Dutch: "as is the".

[3] Read: "four of them".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "and after that".

[5] Read: "pairár".

cracke, and, in a manner to open,[1] so that it is very dangerous for the shippes. We were in very great care for our Foukemaste, and therefore we bound our Mastes and all the shippes about with Cables, as[2] [harde as possible] wee might. This continued till the 17. of March, and then we had a little wind, so that we hoysed saile againe: but it continued no longer then to the next day, and then we fell againe into the wind, and had a storme: wherewith our maine yard brake, and then againe wee stroke al our sails, and so lay driving or Payraering, as the Portingalles call it. In the meane time we mended our maine yard, and so wee continued driving without our sailes till the 20. of March, with great risings of the waves of the sea, which much tormented us, as in that place they commonly doe: all the which time we were under 31. degrees, and could not passe forward. In that time we saw many birdes, which the Portingals call Antenalen,[3] and are as bigge as Duckes.

The 20. of March wee had a little wind, but [very] sharpe, yet we hoysed our sailes, and sayled by the wind. The next night after, we had a calme, which continued to the 22. [day], and then we fell againe into the winde, with so great a storme, that wee were compelled to strike all our sayles, which wee coulde hardly pull in, and could not stay the shippe in any sort, [it drave so fast:] whereby wee were in great daunger; so that wee were compelled to binde the bonnet about the Fore-castle, which was our sayle, (for other sayle we might not beare) and so sayled backwarde, whether the winde would drive us, thereby to have some ease, and yet we had enough to doe, for wee were compelled to throwe our great Boate over bord, with all the chests, pots, and vesselles, that stoode upon the Hatches, with other wares, such as came first to hand. This storme continued for the space of two dayes & three nights without ceasing.

[1] Orig. Dutch: "ende gants ontstellen" (and wholly to derange).
[2] Orig Dutch: "as good". [3] Read: "antennaes".

The 25. of March (being the day before Palme sunday) we had a better wind and weather, after we had given great almes to our blessed Ladie of the Annuntiation, whose Feast was uppon that day, and again hoysed up our sayles, keeping our course towards the Cape. At the same time we had a disease in our ship, that tooke us in ye mouth, lippes, throate, and tongue, which tooke off the skin and made them swell, whereby they could not eate, but with great paine, and not one in the ship but had it.[1]

The eight of Aprill in the Morning, after we had sayled fifteene daies before the winde, towards the Cape, we perceived some signes of the land, which is greene water: but wee found no ground, yet was it not above fortie miles from the land, according to the Pilots iudgement. We saw there also divers of the Birds called Mangas de Velludo, that is to say, Velvet sleves, for they have upon the ends of their wings, blacke points like Velvet, all the rest beeing white and somewhat gray, which they hold for a certaine signe of land that lyeth within the Cape de Bona Speranza called Baya de la Goa,[2] or the Bay of the Lake, and lyeth under thirtie three degrees & a halfe from the coast that reacheth towards Mosambique.

The ninth of Aprill at night, we were againe right in the winde, being under thirtie five degrees and a halfe, with a great storme, and foule wether, that continued till the 14. of the same Month, so that we were compelled, (not being able to endure the force of the Sea, with the continuall storme and foule wether) to sayle back againe before the winde, with the halfe of our Fouke sayle up, for that wee found our selves not strong enough to drive without sayles, as the shippes commonly use to doe, which oftentimes is the cause of their casting away, as it may well be iudged, by reason of

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and was common among all that were in the ship".
[2] Read: "Lagoa" (the well-known Delagoa Bay).

the great force and strength of the waves that runne there: so that it seemeth almost impossible for a ship to beare out so great a force, though it were of Iron. And although we sayled before the winde, yet wee had danger inough, for that the Sea came behinde and over our shippe, and filled all the Hatches, whereby we were compelled to binde our Mastes, Cables, and all the shippe round about with Ropes, that with ye great force of the Sea it might not stirre, and flye in peeces. And forced we were to Pumpe night and day, having at each ende of the Fouke-yarde a rope that reached to the Pilot, and at each rope there stoode fifteene or sixteene men, the Pilot sitting in his seate, and the under Pilot behinde upon the sterne of the shippe, to marke the course of the Sea, and so to advertise the other Pilot. At the ruther there stoode ten or twelve men, and the other Saylers upon the Hatches to rule the sayle[s,] & as the waves came and covered the shippe, the under Pilot called, and then the chiefe Pilot spake to them at the Ruther to hold stiffe, and commaunded[1] the ropes that were at the Fouke-yarde to bee pulled stiffe: the Saylers likewise and the chiefe Boteswaine standing on the Hatches, to keepe the ship right in the waves, for if the waves had once gotten us about, that they had entred on the sides of the shippe, it had certainly beene said of us, Requiescant in pace. And it was there almost as cold as it is here with us in winter, when it freeseth not: whereby wee were all sore toyled, and [in a manner] out of hart, [so that wee esteemed our selves cleane cast away:] for we were forced by turnes to go to the ruther, & from thence to the pumpe, (not one excepted) so that we had no time to sleepe, rest, eate, nor cloath our selves: and to help us the better the staffe of our Ruther brake in peeces, and had almost slaine two or three of our men. But God had pittie on us, so that

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "on the one or other side".

there happened no other hurt,[1] but that some of them were [a little] amazed.[2] This continued to the fourteenth of Aprill, without any change, whereupon all the Officers of the shippe assembled together with others of the companie, taking counsell what was best to be done, and perceiving the shippe not to bee strong enough to passe the Cape, they concluded by protestation (whereunto they subscribed their hands) to sayle[3] with the ship to Mosambique, and there to winter and to repaire the shippe, and provide all necessaries for it, which greatly greeved the common sort because they did find as great danger in turning backe againe to Mosambique, as to passe the Cape, for that they were to sayle againe by the land Donatal, which they feared as much as the Cape: and also though they did arrive at Mosambique, yet they accounted it as much as a lost Viage. For that they must stay there till the next yeare, and there spend all they have, for that all things that come thether are brought out of India: so that everie thing is there as deare as gold, which would bee hard for the poore Saylers and Swabbers, as having but little meanes to relieve themselves, and therby they should be constrained to sel that litle they had broght with them, for halfe the value: and besides that they were as then about 500. miles from Mosambique. Wherefore there grew great [noyse and] murmuring in the ship, among the Saylers, that cursed the Captaine and the Officers, because the ship was badly provided, for it had not one rope more then hung about the ship, nor any thing wherof to make them, if those that we had should have chanced to breake. The Captaine laide the faulte on the Master, because hee asked them not when hee was at land: and the Master saide that he had spoken for them, and that the Cairo, or Hemp (wherof in India the ropes are made) was delivered unto the Captaine,

[1] Orig. Dutch: "damage".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "qualijck ghetracteert" (badly hurt).
[3] Orig. Dutch: "return".

and that he had sold ye best part[1] thereof to put the money in his purse: & that was the cause why we wanted: with this disorder they bring their matters to passe, not once remembring what may after fall out: but when they are in danger, then ther is nothing els but crying Misericordia, and calling to our lady for helpe: the Captaine could not tell what to answere,[2] seeing us in that trouble, [but said] that he marvelled at nothing so much, as why our Lord God suffered them (beeing so good Christians and Catholiques, as they were) to passe the Cape, with so great torments and dangerous weather, having so great and strong shippes, and that the Englishmen, beeing (as he said) Heretickes, and blasphemers of God, with so smal & weake vessels, & passed ye Cape so easilie: for they had receaved news in India that an English Shippe had passed the Cape with verie great ease. And so wee made backe againe towards Mosambique, being in great dispaire, for that no man cared for laying his hand to worke, and hardlie would any man obay the Officers of the Shippe. In this manner sayling, wee perceived divers vesselles, and bordes with[3] dead men [bound upon them] driving in the Sea, which comforted us a little, thinking that some other of the shippes were in the same taking, and had throwne some of their goods over bord, and so made towardes Mosambique before us: whereby we thought to have company, and that we alone were not unfortunate, for that is commonlie said, that companions in miserie are a comfort one to an other, and so it was to us: but I would to God it had bene so as we imagined, but it was farre worse then turning backe againe, for those were the signes of the casting away of the S. Thomas, as being in the Iland of S. Helena, as we were afterwards advertised.

The 15. of April we had an other great calme, which con-

[1] Orig. Dutch: "the half".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "was not ashamed to say".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "and".

tinued till the 17. day, and taking the hight of the Sunne, we found our selves to be under 37. degrees, to the great admiration of al the company, for that being (as I said) under 35. degrees, and having sayled for the space of 5. dayes, with so great a wind and stormy weather towards Mosambique, we should rather by al mens reason, have lessened [our degrees,] & by estimation wee made account to have bene under 30. or 32. degrees [at the highest:] but the cause why our shippe went backward in that sort against wind and weather,[1] towards the Cape, thinking wee made towards Mosambique, was by the water, which in those countries carieth with a verie strong streame towards the cape, as the Pylot tould us he had proved at other times: yet he thought not that the water had runne with so great a streame, as now by experience he found it did: so as it seemed that God miraculouslie against all mans reason and iudgement, and all the force of wind and stormes would have us passe the Cape, when we were least in hope thereof: whereby we may plainelie perceive that all mens actions without the hand of God, are of no moment. The same day againe we saw greene water, and the birdes called Mangas de Velludo, [or velvet sleeves,] which are certain signes of the cape de bona Speranza, which put us once againe in hope to passe it: and about evening a swallow flew into our shippe, wherat they much reioiced, saying that it was a sign and foreshowing, that Our Lady had sent the Swallow on bord to comfort us; and that we should passe the Cape: wherewith they agreed once againe to prove if we could passe it, seeing we had such signes and tokens to put us in good comfort, that God would help us. This being concluded, we sung the Letany, with Ora pro nobis, and gave many almes, with promises of pilgrimages [and visitations,] and such like things, which was our

[1] Orig. Dutch: "against our course".

dayly worke.[1] With that the saylers & others[2] began to take courage [and to be lustie] every man willinglie doing his office, offering rather to lose life and welfare in adventuring to passe the Cape, then with full assurance of their safetie to returne unto Mosambique: we had as then great waves, and very bigge water in the sea, which left us not till wee came to the other side of the Cape.

The 18. of Aprill we fell againe into the wind, with as great stormes and foule weather as ever we had before, so that we thought verily we should have been cast away: for that at everie minute the sea covered our ship with water, & to lighten her, we cast divers chestes, and much Cinamon, with other thinges, that came first to hand, over bord, wherewith everie man made account to die, and began to confess themselves, and to aske each other forgivenes, thinking without more hope, that our last day was come. This storme continued in this sort, at the least, for the space of 24. houres: in the mean time great almes were given in our shippe to many Virgin Maries, and [other] Saints, with great devotion & promise of [other] wonderfull things when they came to land: at the last God comforted us, and sent us better weather, for that the 19. of Aprill the wether began to cleere up, and therewith we were in better comfort.

The 20. of Aprill we took the hight of the Sunne, and found it to be 36. degrees: and againe we saw greene water, and some birds which they call Alcatraces,[3] and many Seawolves, which they for certain signes of the cape de Bona Speranza, & as we thought were hard by the land, but yet saw none: the same day we had the wind somewhat fuller, and were in great hope to passe the Cape, so that the men began to be in better comfort, by reason of the signes we have seene. All that day we saw greene water, till the 22. of Apr.

[1] Orig. Dutch: "traffic".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "With that the people was comforted and".....

[3] *I.e.*, the albatross (*Diomedea exulans*).

upon which day twice, and in the night following, we cast out the Lead, and found no ground, which is a good signe that wee had passed the Cape called das Agulhas, or the cape of needles, which lieth under 34. degrees & a half. And because that about this cape Das Agulhas, there is ground found, at the least 30. or 40. miles from the land, we knew wee were past it: as also by the colour of the water, and the birds, which are alwaies found in those countries: and the better to assure us thereof, the great & high sea left us, and then we found a smoother water, much differing from the former: so that as then we seemed to come out of hell into Paradice, with so great ioy, that we thought we were [within the sight of some haven],[1] and withall had a good winde though somewhat cold.

The 23. of Aprill we passed the Cape de Bona Speranza, with a great and generall gladnes, it being as then 3. months and three dayes after we set sayle from Cochiin, not once seeing any land or sand at all, but onelie these assured tokens of the said Cape, which happened [very] seldome: for that the pilots doe alwaies use what meanes they can to see the cape, and to know the land, thereby to know certainlie that they are past it: for then their degrees must lessen, and [there they] may[2] as soone make towards Mosambique, as to the Iland of S. Helena: for although they can well perceive it by ye water, yet it is necessary for them to see the land, the better to set their course unto S. Helena, wherein[3] they must alwaies keepe on the left hand: otherwise it were impossible for them to come at it, if they leave that course: for if they once passe it, they can not come to it again, because there bloweth continually but one kind of wind, which is South east: and thus having passed the Cape, we got before the wind.

[1] Orig. Dutch: "herboren" (born anew).
[2] Orig. Dutch: "might".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "which".

The 24. of Aprill the Pilot willed us to give the Bona viagen unto the Cape de Bona Speranza, according to the custome, with great ioy and gladnes of all that were in the shippe: for that as they then assure themselves that they sayle to Portingal, and not to turne againe into India (for so long as they are not past the Cape, they are alwaies in doubt) and as then we were about 50. miles beyond the Cape. The signes and tokens whereby they know themselves certainly to have passed the Cape, are great heapes and peeces of thicke reedes, that alwaies thereabouts drive uppon the water, at least 15. or 20. miles from the land: as also certaine birds by the Portingals called Feysoins,[1] somewhat greater then sea mewes, being white & full of blacke spots over al their bodies & very easie to be known from al other birds. These are certain signes whereby the Pilots doe certainly persuade themselves that they are past the Cape, and having passed it, they set their course for S. Helena Northwest & Northwest & by west. The 27. of Apr. we were right in the wind, and so continued till the next day, and then we had a calm, being under 30. degrees on Portingal side. The 29. of Apr. we got before the wind, which is the generall wind yt. alwaies bloweth in those countries al the whole yere, untill yu. come to the Equinoctial line, and is a Southeast wind: so yt. they may wel let their sayles stand, & lay them down to sleep, for in ye greatest wind yt. bloweth there, they need not strike their maine yard above half the mast.

The 12. of May, in the morning betimes, we discovered the Iland of S. Helena, whereat there was so great ioy in the ship, as if we had bene in heaven: & as then we were about 2. miles from ye land, the Iland lying from us West, south west: whereunto we sayled so close, that with a caliver shot we might reach unto the shore: being hard by it, we sayled about a corner of the land, that from us lay Northwest,

[1] Moraes Silva mentions the Feijão (plur., Feijões) as a seabird. Faisão (plur., Faisães and Faisões) is pheasant.

which having compassed wee sayled close by the land, West, North west: the land on that side beeing so high and still,[1] that it seemed to be a wall that reached unto the skyes. And in that sort we sayled about a mile and a half, and compassed about ye other corner that lay westward from us, which corner beeing compassed, we presentlie perceived the shippes that lay in the road, which were those ships that set sayle before us out of India, lying about a small half mile from the foresaid corner, close under the land, so that the land as then lieth South east from them: and by reason of the high land the shippes lie there as safe as if they were in a haven: for they may well heare the wind whistle on the top of their maine yards, but lower it can not come: and they lie so close under the land, that they may almost cast a stone upon the shore. There is good ground there, at 25. and 30. fadomes deep, but if they chance to put further out, or to passe beyond it, they must goe forward, for they can get no more unto ye land:[2] and for this cause we kept so close to the shore, that the height of the land took the wind from us, & the ship would not steer without wind, so that it drave upon the land, wherby our boresprit touched ye shore, & therwith we thought that shippe & goods had all beene cast away: but by reason of the great depth, being 10. fadomes water, and with the help of the Boats, and men off the other ships that came unto us, we put off from the land, without any hurt, and by those Boates wee were brought to a a place wher the other ships lay at Anker, which is right against a valley, that lyeth betweene two high hilles, wherein there standeth a little Church called Saint Helena. There we found five shippes, which were, the ship that came from Malacca, and the S. Mary that had beene there about 15. daies, which came both together to the Cape de Bona Speranza, the S. Anthonie, and the S. Christopher being Admiral

[1] Read: "steep".

[2] Orig. Dutch: (add) "because the wind is right contrary".

that had arrived there 10. daies before, and the Conception, which came thether but the day before us, so that ther wanted none of the Fleet but the S. Thomas, and by the signes and tokens, that we and the other ships had seene at Sea, we presumed it to be lost, as after we understoode, (for it was never seene after) for the other shippes had seene Mastes, Deales, Fattes, Chestes, & many dead men that had bound themselves upon boards, with a thousand other such like signs. Our Admiral likewise had beene in great danger of casting away: for although it was a new ship, & this the first Viage it had made, yet it was so eaten with Wormes, that it had at the least 20. handfuls deepe of water within it, and at the Cape was forced to throw halfe the goods [over bord,] into the Sea, and were constrained continually to Pumpe with two Pumpes, both night and day, and never holde still: and being before the Iland of S. Helena, had ther also sunke to the ground, if the other ships had not holpen her. The rest of the shippes coulde likewise tell what dangers and miseries they had indured. About three Monthes before our arrivall at S. Helena, there had beene[1] a ship which the yere before set out of Ormus, with the goods & men that remained in the S. Salvador, that had beene saved by the Portingal armie,[2] upon the coast of Abex,[3] and brought unto Ormus, as in an other place I have declared.[4] That ship had wintered in Mosambique, and had passed [verie] soone by the Cape, & so sayled without any companie unto Portingall, having left some of her sicke men in the Iland, (as the maner is) which the next ships that came thether must take into them. These gave us intelligence, that about foure monthes before our arrivall, there had beene an English ship[5] at the Iland of Saint Helena, which had

[1] Orig. Dutch: "sailed from the island".
[2] Read: "armada".
[3] *I.e.*, Abyssinia.
[4] See p. 184, *ante*.
[5] It was Thomas Cavendish, who sailed from Plymouth July 21st, 1586, and returned there Sept. 9th, 1588.

sayled through the Straights of Magellanaes, and through the south seas, & from thence to the Ilands of Phillippinas, and had passed through the Straights of Sunda, that lyeth beyond Malacca, betweene the Ilands of Sumatra and Iava: in the which way she had taken a shippe of China (such as they call Iunckos) laden with Silver and Golde, and all kind of Silkes, and that shee sent a letter with a small present to the Bishop of Malacca, telling him, that shee sent him that of friendship, meaning to come her selfe and visite him. Out of that ship of China, they tooke a Portingall Pilot, & so passed the Cape de Bona Speranza, and came to the Iland of Saint Helena; where they tooke in fresh water and other necessaries, and beate downe the Alter and the Crosse that stoode in the Church,[1] and left behind them a Ketle and a Sword, which the Portingales at our arrival found there, yet could they not conceive [or thinke] what they might meane. Some thought it was left there for a signe to some other ships of his companie, but everie man may thinke what he will thereof. In the ship of Malacca came for Factor of the Pepper, one Gerrit van Afhuysen, borne in Antwarpe, and dwelling in Lisbone, who had sayled in the same ship from Lisbone [about] two yeares before, for that they staied in Malacca at the least fourteene Monthes, by reason of the warres, and troubles that were in that countrie, untill Malacca was relieved, as I saide before: whereby they had passed great miserie, and beene at great charges. And because it is a very unwholesome countrie, together with ye constraint of lying there so long, of 200. men, that at first sayled from Lisbone in the ship, there were but 18. or 20. left alive, and all the rest dyed, so that they were enforced to take in other unskilfull men [in Malacca], to bring the shippe home. This Gerrard van Afhuysen, being of mine acquaintance and my good friend, before my departure out of Portingall for India, marvelled and ioyed much to find me there, little thinking

[1] Orig. Dutch: "the altar of the little church and the crosses".

that we should meete in so strange a place, and there we discoursed of our travels past. And of him among divers other things, I learned many true instructions as well of Malacca, as of the countries and Ilands lying about it, both for their manner[1] [of dealing in] trade of[2] Marchandise, as in other memorable things. By the pictures following, you may see the true description of the Iland of Saint Helena, and of the three sides therof as we passed by it, and as we sayled about it to the road, as also of the Iland of Ascention. The description of which two Ilands you may here perceive and learne, as I my selfe could marke the same.

THE 94. CHAPTER.

A briefe description of the Iland Saint Helena.

The Iland of Saint Helena is so named, because the Portingales discovered it uppon Saint Helens day, which is the twentie one of May.[3] It is in compasse sixe miles,[4] little more or lesse, and lyeth under sixteene degrees and a quarter, on the South side of the Equinoctall 550. Spanish miles from the Cape de Bona Speranza, and from the coast called Angola or Ethiopia 350. miles, & from Brasilia 510. miles. These are the two neerest lands adioyning to it. It is a verie high and hillie countrie, so that it commonly reacheth unto[5] the cloudes: the countrie of it selfe is [verie] ashie and[6] drie: also all the trees that are therein, whereof there are great store, & grow

[1] Orig. Dutch: "manners". [2] Orig. Dutch: "and".

[3] It was discovered by João de Nova the 22nd May 1502, on his return from India to Portugal.

[4] *I.e.*, Dutch miles. The island is twenty-eight English miles in circuit.

[5] Orig. Dutch: "is covered with".

[6] Orig. Dutch: "and very".

of themselves in the woodes, are little worth but only to burne: for it hath no special substance, but sheweth as if it were halfe consumed, so that it should seeme that some mines of Brimstone,[1] hath in times past beene in that Iland, as commonly all the Ilands are [all] much subiect to the same: for that in some places thereof they find Sulphur and Brimstone. When the Portingales first discovered it, there was not any beasts, nor fruite, [at all within the Iland,] but onely great store of fresh water, which is excellent good, and falleth downe from the mountaines, and so runneth in great abundance into the Valley, where the Church standeth, and from thence by small chanels,[2] into the Sea, where the Portingales fill their vessels full of fresh water, and wash their clothes: so that it is a great benefit [for them,] and a pleasant sight to behold, how cleare & in how many streames the water runneth downe into the valley, which may bee thought a myracle, considering the drinesse of the country together with the stonie Rockes and hilles therein. The Portingales have by little and little brought many beastes into it, and in the valleyes planted al sorts of fruites: which have growne there in so great abundance, that it is almost incredible. For it is so full of Goates, Buckes, wild Hogges, Hennes, Partridges, and Doves, by thousands, so that any man that will, may hunt and take them: & ther is alwaies [plentie and] sufficient, although there came as many shippes more into the Iland as there doe: and they may kill them with stones and staves, by reason of the gret numbers of them. Now for fruites, as Portingall Figges, Pomgranets, Oranges, Lemons, Citrons,[3] and such like fruites, there are so many, that growe without planting or setting, that all the valleyes are full of them, which is a great pleasure to beholde, for that it seemeth to bee an earthly Paradise. It hath

[1] Orig. Dutch: "some volcano".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "brooks".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "lymen" (little lemons). See ch. 54, *ante*.

fruite all the yeare long, because it raineth there by showers at the least five or sixe times everie day, and then againe the Sunne shineth, so that whatsoever is planted, there it groweth verie well: but because the Portingales are not over curious of new things, there groweth not of al sorts of fruites of Portingall and India in that Iland: for [assuredly] without any doubt they would growe well in that land, because of the good temperature of the ayre, besides this they have so great abundance of Fish, round about the Iland, that it seemeth a wonder wrought of God: for with crooked nayles, they may take as much Fish as they will, so that all the shippes doe provide themselves of Fish of all sorts in that place, which is hanged up and dried, and is of as good a taste [and savor], as any Fish that ever I eate: and this every man that hath beene there, affirmeth to be true. And the better to serve their turnes, upon the Rockes[1] they find salt, which serveth them for their necessarie provisions, so that to conclude it is an earthly Paradise for ye Portingall shippes, and seemeth to have been miraculously discovered for the refreshing and service of the same, considering the smalnesse and highnesse of the land, lying in the middle of the Ocean sea[s], and so far from the firme land or any other Ilands, that it seemeth to be a Boye, placed in the midle of the Spanish Sea[s]: for if this Iland were not, it were impossible for the shippes to make any good or prosperous Viage: for it hath often fallen out, that some shippes which have missed thereof, have indured the greatest miserie in ye world, and were forced to put into the coast of Guinea, and there to stay the falling of the raine, and so to get fresh water, and afterwardes came halfe dead and spoyled into Portingall. It is the fashion, that all the sicke persons, that are in the shippes, and can not wel sayle in them, are left there in the Iland, with some provision of Rice, Bisket, Oyle, and some Spices, for Fish and flesh they may have enough, for when the ships

[1] Orig. Dutch: "upon the cliffs on the seaside".

are gone, then all the beastes (which by reason of the great number of people fly into the mountaines) come downe againe into the valleyes, where they may take them with their handes and kill them [as they list], those sicke men stay there till the next yeare, till other ships come thether, which take them with them, they are commonly soone healed in that Iland; as being a verie sound and pleasant countrie: and it is verie seldome seene, that any of them dyeth there, because they have alwaies a temperate ayre, and coole winde, and alwayes fruite throughout the whole yeare.[1] The king will not suffer any man to dwell in it, because they should not destroye & spoyle the countrie, and holde it as their owne, but will have it common for everie man to take what he hath neede of. In time past there dwelt an Hermet in the Ile, [who continued there for] certaine yeares, under pretence of doing penance, and to uphold the Church, hee killed many of the Goates and Buckes, so that everie yeare hee sold at the least five or sixe hundred skinnes, and made great profit therof: which the King hearing, caused him presently to be brought from thence into Portingall. Likewise upon a certaine time two Caffares or blacke people of Mosambique, and one Iaver,[2] with two women slaves stoale out of the shippes, and hid themselves in the Rockes of this Iland, which are verie high and wilde, whereby men can hardly passe them. They lived there together, and begot children, so that in the ende they were at the least twentie persons, who when the ships were gone, ran throughout the Iland and did much hurt, making their houses & dweling places betweene some of the hilles, where not any of the Portingales had beene, nor yet could easily come at them: and therein they hid themselves untill the shippes were gone,[3] but in the end they were perceived, and the Portingales used all the meanes they could to take them: but they knew so well how

[1] Orig. Dutch: "without much change".
[2] *I.e.*, Javan.
[3] Orig. Dutch: "when the ships did lie there".

to hide and defend themselves, that in many yeares they could not be taken: in the end, fearing that they might in time be hurtfull unto them, and hinder them much, by expresse commandement of the King, after long and great labour, they tooke them all and brought them prisoners into Portingall: so that at this present no man dwelleth therein, but only the sicke men, as I told you before. When the ships come thether, everie man maketh his lodging under a tree, setting a Tent about it: for that the trees are there so thicke, that it presently seemeth a little towne or an armie lying in the fielde. Everie man provideth for himself, both flesh, fish, fruite, and woode, for there is enough for them all: and everie one washeth Linnen. There they hold a generall fasting and prayer,[1] with Masse everie daye, which is done with great devotion, with procession, and thankesgiving and other Himnes, thanking God that hee hath preserved them from the danger of the Cape de Bona Speranza, and brought them to that Iland in safetie. There they use [sometimes] to Carve their names, and markes in trees & plants[2] for a perpetuall memorie: whereof many hundreth are there to be found, which letters with the growing of the trees, doe also grow bigger and bigger, we found names that had been there since the yeare of the Lord 1510 & 1515, and everie yeare [orderly] following, which names stoode upon Figge trees, every letter being of the bignesse of a spanne, by reason of the age and growing of the trees. This shal suffice for the description of the Iland of Saint Helena.

The 21. of May, being Saint Helenas day, and Whitsunday, after we had taken in all our fresh water, and other necessaries, we set sayle altogether in companie, and directed our course towardes Portingall, leaving about fifteene sicke men in the Ilande, & some slaves that ranne out of the ships. The 26. of May in the Evening, wee spake with the Saint

[1] Orig. Dutch: "confession and communion".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "in the trunks and branches of the trees".

Mary, and the next day with the Gallion of Malacca: the same Morning and in the afternoone with the Admirall, who willed us to follow him unto the Iland of the Ascention. The same day one of our slaves fell over bord, and although we used all the meanes we could to save him, yet we could not doe it, by reason we sayled before the winde. The same day at night wee saw the Iland of Ascention, and lauered[1] all that night, because we would not passe the Iland. In the Morning the 28. of May, we sayled about the Iland to see if there were any ground to Anker on, because the Admirall was so leake, that shee could no longer holde out: and the men desired the Officers of the shippe, that they would lay the goods on land, in the Iland of Ascention, and there leave it with good watch and necessaries [for them that keepe it,] and so sayle with the emptie ship to Portingall: and there procure some other shippe to fetch the goods, thinking it was sufficient to have it well watched and kept there, for that there commeth not a ship in twentie yeares into that Iland, because there is nothing in it to be had. We went close unto it, by a verie white and faire Sand, where the Admirall and all the shippes[2] cast out the Lead, and found from eightie to fiftie, and 40. Fadomes water: and although they might have gone closer to the land, yet the Officers excused themselves, saying, that they coulde not goe neerer, and that it was too deepe and verie dangerous for them to Anker there. Which they said to pacifie the men, desiring that they might borow two Pumpes more of the other shippes, and so without doubt they woulde bring the shippe safe unto Portingall, and although it would bee great paine and labour for them[3] [to doe it,] yet they must [of force] content themselves: for that the Admirall and all the Gentlemen that were in the shippe pumped both day and night, as their

[1] Better, "laveered", *i.e.*, beat about.
[2] Orig. Dutch: "and we also".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "although it was difficult to them".

turnes came about, as well as the meanest [in the shippe] onely to encourage the people. They borowed one Pumpe of the Saint Mary, and sent to desire us to lend them another, and although our ship was none of the best [among the Fleet,] we[1] were of opinion not to lend him any, as not knowing what neede wee should have ourselves, having so long a way to sayle, yet in the end seeing the great necessitie they were in, we lent them one, the rather because they sayd that the Admirals meaning was, if it were calme wether, to discharge some of their wares into other shippes, thereby to lighten themselves, but it fell not out as they thought, so that with great miserie and labor they overcame their iournie.

THE 95. CHAPTER.

Of the Iland called the Ascention.

This Iland was discovered upon Ascention daye,[2] and in shew seemeth as great as the Iland of Saint Hellena, but not so high. It is ful of hilles and dales, lying under eight degrees and a halfe, on the South side of the Equinoctiall line, and lyeth Northwest distant from Saint Helena, 190. Spanish miles, and from the Equinoctiall line 140. miles. There is not any fresh water in the Iland, nor one greene leafe or branch. It hath many hilles of a reddish colour, which shew like a certaine Earth in Spaine called Almagro,[3] and is full of stonie hilles, and dryed land, [it is] like Saint Helena. There hath beene some shippes there, that missed Saint Helena, and sought for fresh water in that Iland, but

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and many".

[2] The island was discovered by João de Nova on his voyage to India in 1501, and called "Ilha da Concepçāo" (Isle of the Conception), but Affonso d'Albuquerque, who two years later touched it on Ascension Day, called it, perhaps without knowing of Nova's discovery, after that day, "Ilha da Ascensão".

[3] Read: "almagre", = "red ochre".

could find none. It hath certaine faire and white Sandes about it, and great store of Fish, wherein it surpasseth S. Helena, but in it there are no beastes at all, onely by reason of the great quantitie of Fishes ther are so many Birds in it yt. it is strange, and they are of the bignesse of young Geese, & came by thousands flying about our ships, crying and making great noyse, and ranne up and downe in the shippe, some leaping and sitting on our shoulders and armes, not once fearing us, so that wee tooke many of them, and wrung of their neckes, but they are not good to eate, because they taste morish.[1] I thinke the cause they are so tame is, because they see but few men[, and some desire to goe to them]. About that Iland and the Iland of Saint Helena, unto the Equinoctiall line, there are flying Fishes, as great as Herings, which flie by great flockes together, two or three Fadome above the water, and flie in that manner at the least a quarter of a mile, untill their wings or finnes be drie, and then they can flie no longer, but fall into the water, and there wet themselves, and then flie againe above the water. The cause why they flie in that sort is, because they are chased by the great fishes, that eate them, and to escape from them, they flie above the water, and some times into the shippes: for many of them fell into our ship, which flew too high, for when their wings are drie they must needes fall.

From that Island of Ascention the shippes held their course Northwest and by West, til they be a degree past the Equinoctiall line on the North side, where there lyeth a cliffe called Penedo de Sam Pedro, which many times they see, and to it from the Islande of Ascention are 300. miles. The 5. of Iune we passed againe the Equinoctiall line, and then again began we to see the North starre, which we had lost under ten degrees, on this side Cochijn, and now began to lose the sight of the South starre, and there we had the sun in the South at twelve of the clocke at noone, in which

[1] Orig. Dutch: "fishy". *Moorish*, Old Engl.="strong-tasted".

on the other side of the line at the same time is in the North. The 8. of June, being 4. degrees in the North, we lost our generall South east winde, that had served us from the Cape de bona Speranza thether, & then began the raines and calmes: for as then we began to come neare the coast of Guinea, which continueth to 9. degrees. These calmes and raines helde us till 11. degrees, being the 20. of Iune, whereby the ships seperated themselves, by reason of the calmes which made them not able to steerre: and in the 11. degrees they met againe, and there we had a North east wind, which is called the generall winde, because it floweth continually in those Countries, and holdeth to 30. and 32. degrees, beginning many times at 6. and 7. degrees: but wee had it not till wee were under 11. degrees. This wind is somewhat scant, for wee must of force saile in the wind, because our chiefe course is Northwest and by North.

The 23. of Iune we passed the point of Capo Verde, which is under 15. degrees, and the 26. of the same month we passed the Islands of Capo Verde, which are ten in number. They beginne under 15. degrees, and end in 19. degrees, and are distant from the firme land of Capo Verde, from 70. to 160. miles inwards to the sea. Then wee entred into the sea, called Sergasso, which is all covered with hearbes, so that it seemeth to be like a greene fielde, & so thicke that a man can not see the water, neyther can the ships passe through them, but with great labour, unlesse they have a strong wind. The hearbe is like Samper,[1] but yellow of colour, & hath berries like Goose berries, but nothing in them. The Portingalles call it Sargasso, because it is like the herbes that groweth in their welles [in Portingall,] called Sargasso: whereupon that sea is called Sargasso. It is not knowne from whence it commeth: for there is no land nor Island that is knowne to bee neare that sea, but the coast of Africa,

[1] Orig. Dutch: "peterselye" (parsley). *Samper*="samphire", and is believed to be *herbe de* "Saint Pierre".

which is at the least more then 400. miles from thence. It is thought it commeth from the ground, and yet there is no ground in that place to bee founde: and in sayling to India the shippes come not into that sea, (for then they keepe closer to the shore, so that it is not once seene) and it is not found in any place but there, beginning at 20. degrees, & continuing to 34. degrees, so thicke, and so full as if they were whole Islandes, most strange to beholde. In the countrey it is as cold in winter, as it is here with us when it freezeth not, which the Portingalles esteeme a great cold, and cloath themselves against it [as we doe in a mightie great frost]. The last of Iune wee were under 23. degrees, being right under the sunne: for yt. the sun was then in the same height, and we also under ye Tropike of Cancer, which is the furthest part that the Sunne goeth Northwarde, and then it turneth againe unto the Equinoctial line, and from thence into the South. Wee passed ye line of Tropicus Capricorni twice, once on the South side, by the ende of the Island of S. Lawrence, and then againe under 23. degrees, after we had passed the Cape de bona Speranza. The 2. of Iuly wee were under the height of the Islands of Canarie, which lie under 28. and 29. degrees, and are distant from the coast of Barbarie and Africa from 30. to 80. miles, which Islandes lay on our right hande: and because in those Islandes there are many things that are worthie the noting, therefore I thought it convenient to make a briefe description of them.

THE 96. CHAPTER.

A briefe description of the Islands of Canaria.

The Islandes of Canaria are seven, which in times past were called the Fortunadas, and at this day by the Spaniards are called the Canaries, by reason of the great numbers of dogges which they founde in them, when they were first

discovered.[1] The names of the Islands are, Great Canarie, Teneriffe, La Palma, La Gomera, El' Hierro, Lansarotte, and Fuente Ventura.[2] In the Island of Teneriffe there is a hill called Pico de Terraira,[3] which is thought to bee the highest hill that ever was found, for it may easily bee seene at the least threescore miles into the sea, before they come at it.[4] It cannot be climed but in the monthes of Iuly and August: for all the other monthes it lyeth full of snowe, although below in the Island, and in other Ilands thereabouts, they see no snow. It is three dayes iourney to clime up into it, and on the toppe thereof it is flat, and when it is clear and faire weather, a man may from thence see all the Islandes round about it, although some of them are at the least 50. miles distant, and as much in compasse. The two monthes in which they use to clime up upon the hill, they bring downe certaine peeces of brimstone, from whence it is much caried into Spaine: and at my being in the Island of Tercera, a shipper [one of my acquaintance] that came from Teneriffe, gave me a peece thereof, for a remembrance of him. In one of those Islandes called Hierro, or of Iron, there is a wonderfull and strange thing to be seene, and I verely thinke it is one of ye strangest things in the world. This Island is one of the greatest of all the seven: but it is an unfruitful and barren land, and so drie, that in all the Island there is not one droppe of fresh water to bee found, but onely in some places uppon the sea side, which is farre from hand, so that it profiteth the inhabitants but very little. But God of his

[1] This is a fable. The name *Canaria*, and its derivation *a multitudine canum ingentis magnitudinis*, really came from King Juba, in *Pliny* (vi, 37). The Spaniards were not the discoverers (or, properly, re-discoverers) of these islands, but Genoese mariners about the end of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth, century.

[2] These islands are inhabited. Besides, there are six little uninhabited islands.

[3] Read: "Pico de Teyde".

[4] This is the very reason why it was thought much more elevated than it actually is.

mercie hath provided for the want of water both for men and beastes, in this maner: for there is a great tree, which no man knoweth, (for the like is not found in any other place) the leaves whereof are small and long, and alwaies greene without chaunging [colour]: this tree is covered and compassed about with a small cloud, which alwaies continueth in one forme, and never altereth nor diminisheth: and this cloud casteth dew upon the leaves of the tree, which hang down, and drop continually (without ceasing) a most cleare, thinne, and fine water, which falleth into [certaine] Cesternes, that by the inhabitants of the Island are made round about & under the tree, therein to keepe and preserve the water.[1]

[The Island of Ascention, so called, because it was discovered upon the day of Christs ascention into heaven, is not inhabited because of the unfruitfulness thereof, & because it wanteth fresh water: which is also the cause that it is not visited by the ships, for that they hope for no refreshing in the same. The Hilles of this Iland are redde like Bolus. About this Iland are many birds, because of the great numbers of fishes that are about it, specially small flying fishes, which in Portingall are called Pisce Bolodor. Reade more hereof in the booke, in Folio, 175.][2]

And this water is in so great abundance, that it serveth [all the Island] for their necessarie uses, not onely for the people, but also for their cattle throughout all the Isle, and no man can remember when that wonder first began.

On the right side of this Island[3] about a hundred miles distant, there is yet an other wonder to be noted, which is,

[1] It appears from credible sources that this tree, a til-tree *(Laurus foetens)*, standing not far from the little town of Valverde, indeed distils water in great abundance from its leaves. It held this power to the end of the seventeenth century, but then, by age, it lost its dense foliage, and with it this peculiarity.

[2] This passage is an interpolation, not occurring in the original Dutch text.

[3] Orig. Dutch: "these islands".

that often times there is an Islande seene thereaboutes, called San Borondon,[1] where divers men have been on lande, [being onely such] as fell upon it on the sodaine, and not looking for it: who affirme it to bee a very fayre, pleasant, and greene countrey full of trees, and all kinds of victuaile, and that it is inhabited by people that are Christians: but no man knowes of what nation they are, neyther what language they speake. The Spaniards of the Islandes of Canaria have many times sayled towardes it to view it, but they could never find it: whereupon there goeth divers opinions of it, for some think it to be inchanted, and that it may not bee seene but upon certaine dayes: some thinke it to bee very small, and alwaies covered with cloudes, and that therefore it can not bee seene nor founde out: and also the great stormes and strength of the water driveth the shippes from it: but to conclude, it is holden for a truth, that the Ilande lyeth thereaboutes, as all those that come from thence doe certainly affirme. The Ilandes of Canaria are very fruitfull, and plentifull of all thinges, both victuailes and other necessaries. They have of all kinds of corne, specially excellent good Wine, which from thence is caried into all places. There is likewise great store of Sugar, which is much esteemed, and also caryed into all countries of Christendome, which causeth great trafficke unto those Ilands, as well by Spaniardes and Portingalles, as other nations, and is the common staple for the shippes that sayle out of Spayne into the West Indies, and refreshe themselves there, and also take in such Wyne as they commonly use to carry with them to the West Indies. They have also great abundance of Cattle and Cammelles, and are now inhabited by Spanyardes, having yet therein many of the naturall borne inhabitantes, which they doe call Guanchas, who by reason of their long conversation with the Spaniardes, doe wholly use their customes, [and manner of

[1] A fabulous island, called after Saint Brandan, an Irish monk of the sixth century, whose legendary voyage is described in an old poem.

apparell]. The chiefe of these Islands is great Canaria, where there is a Bishop, and the inquisition with the tribunal Royal, and it hath the government over all the other Islandes, that are called the Canaries.

The 6. of Iulie wee were under 32. degrees, where wee lost the generall North-East wind, and had a calme, and saw much of the hearbe called Sargasso, which covered all the sea. The 10. of the same month, we got againe before the wind, being under 34. degrees, and then we saw no more of the hearbe Sargasso, but a faire cleare sea.

The eighteenth of Iulie wee were under 39. degrees, under which height lieth the Iland called de Coruo, and the Island of Tercera, and also the river of Lisbone, all these dayes we had many calmes. The next day wee had a West wind being a right forewinde, and saw many flying fishes, almost as great as Haddockes, that flew three or foure fadomes high above the water.

The 22. of Iuly, the winde continuing, about noone we saw the Islands called Flores, and de Coruo, which lie one close to the other: from thence to the Island of Tercera Eastward are 70. miles. At that time wee began to have many sick men, that is to say, some sicke in their eyes, and some in their breaste and bellies,[1] by reason of the long voiage, and because their victuals began to loose the taste, and savour, and many wanted meat, whereby divers of them through want were compelled to seeth rice with salt water, so that some of them died, which many times were found under the fore deck that had laine dead two or three dayes no man knowing it, which was a pittifull sight to behold, considering the miserie they indure[d] aboard those ships. There died in our ship from India unto that place, of slaves and others, to the number of[2] 24. persons.

The same day about Evening, being by the Islandes of

[1] Orig. Dutch: "en schuerbuyck" (and of scurvy).

[2] Orig. Dutch: "more then".

Flores and Coruo, wee perceived three shippes that made towards us, which came from under the land, which put us in great feare: for they came close by our Admirals, & shot divers times at him, & at another ship of our companie, whereby wee perceived them to be English men, for they bare an English flagge upon their maine tops, but none of them shewed to be above 60. tunnes in greatnes. About Evening they followed after us, and all night [bore lanternes with Candles burning in them at their sternes, although the Moone shined. The same night passing][1] hard by the Island of Fayarl,[2] the next day being betweene the Island of S. George that lay on our right hand, and the small Island called Gratioso[3] on our left hand, we espied the three English ships still following us that tooke counsell together, whereof one sayled backwards, thinking that some other ship had come after us without company, & for a small time was out of sight, but it was not long before it came againe to the other two, wherewith they tooke counsell, & came all three together against our shippe, because we lay in the lee of all our ships, and had the Island of S. George [on the one side in steede of a sconce,][4] thinking to deale so with us, that in the end we should be constrained to runne uppon the shore, whereof wee wanted not much, and in that manner with their flagges openly displayed, came lustily towardes us, sounding their Trumpets, and sayled at the least three times about us, beating us with Musket and Caliver, and some great peeces, and did us hurt[5] in the body of our shippe, but spoyled all our sayles and ropes, and to conclude, we were so plagued by them, that no man durst put forth his head, and when wee shot off a peece, we had at the least an houres worke to lade it againe, whereby wee had so great a noise and crie in the

[1] Orig. Dutch: "all night gave each other signals from the top. The same night, the moon shining, we passed". . . .

[2] Read: "Fayal". [3] Read: "Graciosa".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "tot een legher wal" (as a lee-shore).

[5] Orig. Dutch: "little hurt".

ship, as if we had all bin cast away, whereat the English men themselves beganne to mocke us, and with a thousand iesting words called unto us. In the meane time the other shippes hoised all their sailes, & did the best they could to saile to the Island of Tercera, not looking once behinde them to help us, doubting they should come too late thether, not caring for us, but thinking themselves to have done sufficiently: so they saved their own stakes, whereby it may easily be seene what company they keepe one with the other, & what order is among them. In the end the English men perceiving small advantage against us, (little knowing in what case and feare we were, as also because we were not far from Tercera) left us, which made us not a litle to reioyce, as thinking our selves to be risen from death to life, although we were not well assured, neither yet voide of feare till we lay in the road before Tercera, & under the safetie of the Portingales fort, & that we might get thether in good time we made all the sailes we could: on the other side we were in great doubt, because wee knew not what they did in the Island, nor whether they were our friendes or enemies, and wee doubted so much the more, because wee found no men of war nor any Carvels of advise from Portingal, as we made our accounts to doe, that might convay us from thence, or give us advise, as in that countrie ordinarilie they use to do,[1] & because the Englishmen had bin so victorious in those parts, it made us suspect that it went not well with Spaine: they of the Iland of Tercera, were in no lesse feare then we, for that seeing our fleet, they thought us to be Englishmen, & that we came to overrun the Iland because the 3. English men had bound up their flags & came in company with us: for the which cause the Iland sent out 2. Carvels that lay there with advise from the King, for the Indian ships that should come thither. Those Carvels came to view us, and perceiving what wee were, made after us, where uppon the English ships

[1] Orig. Dutch: "to find".

left us, & made towardes them, because the Carvels thought them to be friends, and shunned them not, as supposing them to be of our company, but we shot foure or five times and made signes unto them that they should make towards the Island, which they presently did. The English men perceiving that did put forwards into the sea, and so the Carvels borded us, telling us that the men of the Island were all in armes, as having received advise from Portingall, that Sir Francis Drake was in a readines, and would come unto those Islands. They likewise brought us newes of the overthrow of the Spanish Fleet before England, and that the English men had beene before the gates of Lisbone: wherupon the king gave us commandement that we should put into the Island of Tercera, and there lie under the safetie of the Castle untill we received further advise what wee should doe, or whether we should saile: for that they thought it too dangerous for us to goe to Lisbone. Those newes put our fleet in greate feare, and made us looke uppon each other not knowing what to say, as being dangerous for them to put into the road, because it lieth open to the sea: so that the Indian ships, although they had expresse commandement from the king, yet they durst not anker there, but only used to come thether, and to lavere[1] to and fro, sending their boates on land to fetch such necessaries as they wanted, without ankering: but being by necessity compelled thereunto, as also by the kinges commandement, and for that wee understood the Earle of Cumberland not to bee farre from those Islands with certaine ships of war, we made necessitie a vertue, and entring the rode, ankered close under the Castle, staying for advise, and order from the king to performe our voyage, it being then the 24. of Iuly & S. James day. We were in al 6. ships, that is 5. from East Indies, & one from Malacca, & lay in the rode before the Towne of Angra, from whence we presently sent three or foure Carvels into Portin-

[1] See p. 259, note 1.

gall, with advise unto the king of our arivall. There we lay in great daunger, and much feare, for that when the month of August commeth it is very dangerous lying before that Iland, for as then it beginneth to storme. The shippes are there safe from all windes, saving onely from the South and South-east windes: for when they blow, they lie in a thousand dangers, specially the east Indian ships, which are very heavily laden, and so full, that they are almost readie to sinke, so that they can hardly be steered.

The fourth of August in the night we had a South winde out of the sea, wherewith it began so to storme, that all the ships were in great danger to be cast away, and to run upon the shore: so that they were in great feare and shot off their peeces, to call for help. The officers and most of the sailers were on land, none but pugs[1] and slaves being in the ships: for it is a common custome with the Portingales, that wheresoever they anker, presently they goe all on land, and let the shippe lie with a boy or two in it. All the bels in the Towne were hereupon rung, and there was such a noyse and crie in everie place,[2] that one could not heare the other speak: for those that were on land by reason of the foule weather, could not get aboard, and they in the Shippe could not come to land. Our Shippe the Santa Crus was in great danger, thinking verily that it shuld have run upon the sands, but God holp them. The ship that came from Malacca brake her Cables, and had not men enough aboard the shippe, nor any that could tell how to cast forth another anker: so that in the end they cut their mastes, & drove upon the Cliffes, where it stayed, and brake in peeces, and presently sunke under the water to the upper Oorlope, and with that the winde came North West, wherewith the storme ceased, and the water became calme. If that had not beene, al the ships had followed the same course: for that some of

[1] Orig. Dutch: "putgers". See p. 227.
[2] Orig. Dutch: "in the whole town".

them were at the point to cut their Masts and Cables to save their lives, but God would not have it so. In that ship of Malacca were lost many rich and costly Marchandises: for these ships are ordinarily as rich[1] as anie ships that come from India, as being full of all the rich wares of China, Maluco, Iava, and all those countries, so that it was great pittie to see what costly thinges, (as Silkes, Damaskes, clothes of gold and silver,[2] & such like wares) fleeted upon the sea,[3] and [were] torne in peeces. There was much goods saved, that lay in the upper part of the ship, and also[4] by duckers, as pepper, Nutmegs, and Cloves, but most of it was lost, and that which was saved, was [in a manner][5] spoyled, and little worth: which presently by the kinges officers in the Island was seased upon, and to the Farmers uses, shut up in the Alsandega,[6] or Custome house, for the Kinges custome, not once regarding the poore men, nor their long and dangerous Voiage that had continued the space of three yeares, with so great miserie and trouble by them indured in Malacca, (as in another place I have alreadie shewed) so that they could not obtaine so much [favour] of the king nor of his officers, that of the goods that were saved and brought to land, they might have some part, although they offered to put in suerties for so much as the custome might amount unto, or els to leave as much goods in the officers hands as would satisfie them, and although they made daily, and pittifull complaintes, that they had not where with to live, and that they desired uppon their owne adventures to fraight [certaine] shippes or Carvels at their owne charge, and to put in good suerties to deliver the goods in the Custome house of Lisbone, yet could they not obtaine their requests: but were answered that the king,

[1] Orig. Dutch: "always richer".
[2] Orig. Dutch: (add) "costly porcelain".
[3] Orig. Dutch: (add) "and were cast on shore".
[4] Orig. Dutch: (add) "in the long run".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "for the most part".
[6] Read: "Alfandega".

for the assurance of his custome, and of all the goods, would send an Armado by sea to fetch the goods: which fetching continued for the space of two yeares and a halfe, and yet nothing was done, for there came no Armado.

In the meane time the poore saylers consumed all that they had, and desperately cursed both themselves, the king, and all his officers: yet in the end by great and importunate sute of the Farmers of the pepper, every man had licence to lade his goods in what ship hee would, after it had laine there for the space of two yeares and a halfe, putting in suerties to deliver the goods in the custome house of Lisbone, where they must pay the halfe & more of the same goods for custome to the King, without any respect of their hard fortune and great miserie, [during their long and dangerous Voyage], and he that will be dispatched in the Custome house there, must see the officers,[1] otherwise it is most commonly three or foure monthes before the goods are delivered unto the owners, and the best thinges, or any fine devise that the Marchants for their own uses[2] bring out of India, if the officers like them they must have them, yet they will promise to pay for them, [but they set no day when: so that the poore Marchants are forced to give them rest, and wel contented that the officers are so pleased, and use no more delaies].[3]

The eight of August, the officers of the ships tooke counsell together with the Governour of the Island what they were best to doe, thinking it not good to follow the kinges advise, considering their long staying, and fearing some other hard fortune if they should stay, and because a great Gallion, being a man of warre, and very strong, lay as then before

[1] Orig. Dutch: "must continually fill up the hands of the custom-officers with presents".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "that any man for his own pleasure".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "but nothing comes of it, and they must remain silent and feign contentment".

the Island, wherein was the Governour of Brasilia, who by foule weather had put in there: they concluded that this Gallion being well appointed should sayle with them to Lisbone, and although they did it without the advise and commandement of the king, yet had they rather so to adventure their lives upon the seas, then againe to stay the danger of the Haven, for that the winter did daylie more and more increase, so that they were not to looke for any better weather, and in that sort appointing themselves as well as they could, and taking in all necessarie provisions, the same day they all set saile with no small fear to fall into some misfortune by the way: but because many that were of the ship of Malacca, stayed at Tercera to save such goods as by any meanes might be saved, and [by that meanes to help themselves],[1] (among the which was the Factor of the pepper, beeing one of my acquaintance,[2] at whose request, as also because the Pepper of that ship, and of all the other ships belonged all to one Farmer, by whom I was appointed Factor, [and] seeing the necessitie he had, and that he alone could hardly dispatch so great a matter,) I tooke order for mine owne affaires, and having dispatched it by other shippes, I stayed there to help him, till wee had further advise, and order from the Farmers[3] of the Pepper and other spices and wares, of the which goods we saved a great quantitie by meanes of Duckers and other Instruments [that we used], having advise from the Farmers & the King that it shuld not be long before they sent for us, willing us to stay there, and to looke unto the goods. This staying and fetching us away continued (as I said before) for the space of two yeares and a halfe, whereby you may consider the good order, and pollicie of the Admiraltie of Portingall, and with what diligence and care they seeke for the common profit of the land,

[1] Orig. Dutch: "ende te beneficieren" (and to benefit them).

[2] See p. 219.

[3] Orig. Dutch: (add) "and owners".

and the poore Marchantes of the Countrie,[1] whome they ought tō favor and help, as much as possiblie they may, but they do cleane contrarie, as those which deale in Portingall doe well finde.

The 13.[2] of August the ships came back againe unto the Island of Tercera, because they had a contrarie wind, as also for want of fresh water, but they ankered not. The day before the Earle of Cumberland,[3] with 6. or 7. ships of warre, sayled by the Iland of Tercera, & to their great good fortune passed out of sight, so that they dispatched themselves in all haste, and for the more securitie, tooke with them 4. hundred Spaniards, of those that lay in Garrison in the Island, & with them they sayled towards Lisbon; having a good wind: so that within 11. dayes after they arrived in the river of Lisbone with great gladnes, & triumph: for if they had stayed but one day longer before they had entred the river, they had all beene taken by Captaine Drake, who with 40. ships came before Cascalis,[4] at the same time that the Indian ships cast anker in the river of Lisbone, being garded thither by divers Gallies. Now by the discourse of this long and perilous voiage, you may sufficiently perceive, how that onely by the grace and speciall favour of God, the Indian ships doe performe their voiages, yet with great miserie, paine, labour, losse, and hinderance: wherby men may likewise consider the manner of their Navigation, ordinances, customes, and governments of their ships, so that [in comparison of many other Voyages,] this present Voyage may be esteemed a happy & prosperous voyage: for oftentimes it chanceth, that but one or two ships (of the five) that yearely saile to India

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and the assistance of their subjects".

[2] Read: "30ēh".

[3] See Edward Wright's Journal of Cumberland's Voyage to the Açores.—*Hakluyt*, ii, p. 156.

[4] Cascáes, near the mouth of the Tagus, which Linschoten calls "river of Lisbon".

come safe home, as of late it hath bin seene, some being taken, and some lost, altogether[1] by their owne follies, & bad order, as herin at large you may perceive, &c.

THE 97. CHAPTER.

[Of the] description of the Islands of Acores or the Flemmish Islands.

The Isles of Acores, or the Flemmish Islands, are 7. that is, Tercera, Saint Michael, S. Mary, S. George, Gratiosa, Pico, & Fayael. There are yet two Islands called Flores and Coruo, which are not contained under the name of Acores, but yet at this day are under the government of the same Islands, so that they are in all accounted 9. Islands. They are called Acores, that is to say, Sparhaukes or Haukes, because that in their first discoverie, they found many Sparhaukes in them, whereof they hold the name, although at this day there is not any there to be found.[2] They are also called the Flemmish Islands, that is of the Neatherlanders, because the first that inhabited the same[3] were Neatherlanders, whereof till this time there is a great number and offspring remaining, that in manner and behaviour are altogether like Neatherlanders, and there is yet in the same Island a running water, that issueth out of a hill, & so runneth into the sea, where as yet those issues or ofspringes of Neatherlanders inhabite, & is called Aribera[4] dos Framengos, that is the Flemmish river. The principall Iland of them all, is that of Tercera,

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "mostly".

[2] Probably the Portuguese took the kites, which are indigenous in the Açores, for hawks, which are not found there. Hawk is in Portug. *açor*.

[3] Orig. Dutch: "the island of Fayal".

[4] Read: "a ribeira".

called Insula de Iesus Christus of Tercera. It is betweene 15. or 16. miles in compasse, and is altogether a great Cliffe of land, [whereby in it there is little roome]:[1] for it is as it were walled round about with Cliffes: but where any strand or sand is, there standeth a fort. It hath no Havens nor entrance of waters, for the securitie and safetie of the ships, but only before the chiefe towne called Angra, where it hath an open Haven, which in forme is like a halfe Moone, by the Portingales called Angra, whereof the towne hath her name.[2] It hath on the one side in manner of an elbow sticking forth, two high hilles, called Bresyle, which stretch into the sea, so yt. a far off they seeme to bee devided from the Iland. Those hils are very high, so that being upon them, a man may see at the least 10. 12. and sometimes 15. miles into the sea, being cleare weather. Upon these hils there stand two small stone pillers, where there is a Centinel placed, that [continually] watcheth to see what ships are at sea, and so to advertise those of the Island: for that as many ships as hee séeth comming out of the west, that is from the Spanish Indies, or Brasilia, Cabo Verde, Guinea, and the Portingall Indies, and [all] other waies lying south or west, for everie ship he setteth a flagge upon the piller in the west, and when the ships which he descrieth are more then 5. then hee setteth up a great auncient, betokening a whole fleet of ships, the like he doth upon the other piller, which standeth in the East, for such shippes as come from Portingall, or other places out of the East or North partes, these pillers may bee easily seene in all places of the towne, by reason of the highness of the hils, so that there is not one ship or sayle that [is at sea, or] maketh towards the Island, but it is presently knowne throughout all the towne, and over all the whole Iland: for the watch is not holden onely upon those two hils iutting into the sea, but also upon all corners, hilles

[1] Orig. Dutch: "which makes it unconquerable".

[2] Angra means a cove or small bay.

and cliffes through out the Iland,[1] and as soon as they perceive any ships, the Governer and Rulers are presently advertised therof, that they may take such order therein as need requireth. Upon the furthest corner into the sea[2] standeth a fort, right against another fort that answereth it: so that those two forts doe shut and defend the mouth or open haven of the towne, where the ships lie in the road, and so no ship can either goe in or come forth, without the licence or permission of those two forts. This towne of Angra is not only the chiefe towne of Tercera, but also of al other townes within ye Islands thereabouts. Therein is resident, the Bishop, the Governour for the King,[3] and the [chiefe place of iudgement, or] tribunall seate of all the Islands of Acores.

Three miles from this towne lieth another towne towards the North, called Villa de Praya (for Praya is as much to say, as strand) because it lieth hard by a great strand, and for that cause there is little traffique thether, as not having any convenient place for ships to come at it: yet some times there commeth some one, that by reason of contrarie wind cannot get before the towne of Angra, and so by constraint discharge their goods in that Towne, which from thence are carried by land to Angra, and yet some part thereof is spent [and used] there. It is walled and well housed, but not many people in it, and such as are in it, doe get their livings most by husbandrie: for there are very faire corne lands. The Island is likewise very fruitful and pleasant, it hath much corne and wine, but the Wine is not verie good to carrie into other Countries [there abouts], because it is small, and will not long continue, so that it is used in the Countrey

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "which have a prospect to the sea".

[2] Orig. Dutch: (add) "at the foot of the foresaid high mountain named Bresyl".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "Here is the cathedral of the bishopric, the government".....

by the common people: but such as are of wealth, for the most part drinke wine of Madera and Canaria. It aboundeth in flesh, fish, & all other necessaries and meats for mans body wherewith in time of neede they might helpe themselves. Oyle there is none, but it commeth out of Portingall. Also Salt, pottes, pannes, and all kinde of earthen vesselles, Chalke, and such like are brought thether out of other places, [for there they are not to bee founde:] for fruites they have (besides Peaches of divers kindes, and in so great abundance that it is strange) Cherries, Plummes, Walnuttes, Haslenuttes, Chesnuttes, but those not very good:[1] of Apples, Peares, Oranges and Lemons, with all such like fruites there are sufficient. Of all sorts of Hearbs and plants, as Coleworts, Radishes, and such like they have at their certayne times of the yeare. They have likewise in that Island a certaine fruite that groweth under the earth, like Radishes or other roots, but the leaves or plants are trees like Vines, but different in leaves, and groweth longwise upon the grounde: it beareth a fruite called Batatas, that is very good, and is so great that it weigheth a pound, some more, some lesse, but little esteemed: and yet it is a great sustenance and foode for the common sort of people. It is of good account in Portingall, for thether they use to bring it for a present, and those of the Ilande by reason of the great abundance doe little esteeme it. There is also another kinde of stuffe that is sowed like corne, and is a fruite: it groweth uppon the roote of the grasse or leaves, and is round and as bigge as a great Pease, but not so rounde: in eating it tasteth like Eardnuttes, but harder to bite: it is likewise a good meate and much esteemed in other places, but by reason of the great quantitie thereof, it is most used[2] to fatten their Hogges, and is called Iunssa. There is also in the Iland a certaine plant, which is found in all places therof in the open fields: it groweth as

[1] Orig. Dutch: "not much".
[2] Orig. Dutch: (add) "on the island".

high as a man, and beareth no fruite, onely the roote thereof is a substance, of the thicknesse of a mans two fistes, and in shew as if it were natural golden hair, and in handling like soft silke, which is used there to stuffe and fill their beddes in steede of wooll and feathers: and I do certainly beleeve, if any man of understanding woulde take it in hand, it would well be woven. The principallest traffique of this Iland is their woad,[1] such as wee use for dying (wherof much is made in that Iland, and is fetched from thence by Englishmen, Scottes, and French men, in barter for cloathes and other wares, who continually traffique into that Iland: and although by reason of the warres, the Englishmen are forbidden to traffique thether, yet under the names of Scots and French men, they have continuall trade there. The Iland hath not any wilde beastes or fowles, but very fewe saving onely Canarie birdes, which are there by thousands, wher many birders take them, and thereof make a dayly living, by carying them into divers places. It hath also wonderfull many Quailes, which they call Codornisen: of tame fowles, as Hennes & Gynny hens,[2] are there likewise great store. Hunting is there little used, but only for Cunnies, which are very great:[3] Hares, Harts, Partridges, Venison, and such like are not there to be found, because of the little respect or care[4] the inhabitantes have to breede any such thinges. Fish is [very] plentifull, and of divers kindes and very good: in Summer there is great store taken, for in Winter they can hardly brooke the seas. The chiefe monthes of winter weather for raine and stormes are, Ianuarie, Februarie, March and Aprill, and also the month of September is commonly [very] stormie: all the other monthes it is commonly good weather. The Countrey is verie hillie, and in some places

[1] Orig. Dutch: "pastel".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "turkeys".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "which are much increased there".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "the little interest".

wooddy, full of bushes and trees: it is hard to travel, because their waies for the most parte are stony, so that for a mile, or a mile and a halfe together, men can see no ground, but only stones,[1] which for sharpenesse and fashion[2] shew like pointed Diamantes, whereby one can hardly tread upon it, least it should cut through both shooes and feet: and yet it is all planted with Vines, so full [and thick,] that in summer time you can hardly see through it, for that the rootes thereof doe grow betweene the stones: so that a man would think it impossible that any thing should grow therein: and which is more, in some places it seemeth impossible for a man to tread upon it, being so wilde and desert as it sheweth, and nothing but harde stones and rockes. On good ground their Vines will not grow, but onely in the wild & stoney places: & for that cause they are much esteemed. The good groundes and plaine fieldes, which in some places are verie manie, specially by villa da Praya, are sowed with corne and woad, & they have so much corne that they neede not bring any from other places: although that besides their inhabitants & natural borne Islanders, they have continually with them 14. companies of Spaniards, which are all fed and nourished by the corne that groweth in the countrey, unlesse there chance to come a [hard &] unfruitfull yeare, as oftentimes it doth, for then they are forced to helpe themselves with forraine corne, and that specially because of the soldiers that lie in the Iland: & yet it is strange, that the corne and all other things in the Iland continue not above one yeare, and that which is kept above a yeare is nought and nothing worth. And therefore to keepe their corne longer then a yeare, they are forced to bury it in the earth, for the space of foure or five monthes together, to the which end every townsman hath his pit at one ende of the towne in[3] the common high

[1] Orig. Dutch: "rocks and cliffy hills".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "unevenness".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "beneath".

way, which is appointed for the purpose, and every man setteth his marke upon his pitte [stone]: the Corne is but lightly buried in the earth: the holes within are rounde, and the toppes thereof so wide that a man may[1] creep in, wherunto there is a stone purposely made to cover it, which shutteth it uppe very close. Some of the pittes are so great, as that they may holde two or three lastes of corne, some greater, & some smaller, as every man hath his provision: and as soone as the corne is reaped and fanned (which is in Iuly,) every man putteth his corne into those pittes, laying straw under and round about it, & then they fill it ful or but half ful according as their quantitie is, and so stoppe it uppe with the stone, which they cover with earth, & so let it stande untill Christmas, when every man that will fetch home his corne: some let it ly longer, and fetch it by little and little, as they use it: but the corne is as good when they take it out, as it was at the first houre that they put it in: and although that Cartes, horses, and men do commonly passe over it, and also that the rayne rayneth uppon it, yet there entreth not any droppe of rayne or moysture into it: and if the corne were not buried in that manner, it woulde not continue good above foure monthes together, but would bee spoyled: and when it hath beene thus [for a long time] buried in the earth, it will continue the whole yeare through, and then they keep it in chestes, or make a thing of mattes, like a coope to preserve it in, not once stirring or moving it, and so it continueth very good.

The greatest commoditie they have in the land, and that serveth their turnes best, is the oxen: & I believe they are the greatest and fayrést yt. are to be found in al Christendom, wt. unmeasurable great and long horns. Everie Oxe hath his severall name like men, and although there bee a thousande of them in a hearde, and that one of them be called by his name, hee presently commeth forth unto his mayster that

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "hardly".

calleth him. The land is verie high,[1] and as it seemeth hollow: for that as they passe over a hill of stone,[2] the grounde soundeth under them as if it were a Seller, so that it seemeth in divers places to have holes under the earth, whereby it is much subiect to earthquakes, as also all the other Ilandes are: for there it is a common thing, and all those Ilandes for the most part have had mynes of brimstone,[3] for that in many places of Tercera, and Saint Michael, the smoke and savour of Brimstone[4] doeth still issue forth of the ground, and the Countrey rounde about is all sindged and burnt. Also there are places wherein there are fountaines and welles, the water whereof is so hotte that it will boyle an egge, as well as if it hung over a fire. In the Iland of Tercera, about three miles from Angra, there is a fountayne in a place called Gualua, which hath a propertie, that all the woode which falleth into it, by length of time converteth into stone, as I my selfe by experience have tryed. [In the same fountayne] by the roote of a tree, whereof the one halfe runneth under that water, and is turned into as harde stone as if it were steele: and the other parte of the roote (which the water toucheth not) is still woode and roote, as it should bee. The Iland hath great store and excellent kindes of woode, specially Cedar trees, which grow there in so great numbers, that they make scutes, Cartes, and other grosse workes thereof, and is the commonest woode that they use to burne in those Countries, whereby it is the wood that with them is least esteemed, by reason of the great quantitie thereof. There is another kinde of wood called Sanguinho, and is very fayre of a redde colour, and another sorte that they call white woode, being of it selfe as whyte as Chalke: other that is perfecte yellow, and all naturall without any dying: and

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "and hilly".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "the mountains which are pure rocks".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "volcanoes".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "smoke and vapour".

therefore there are divers good workemen in Tercera, that are skilfull in Ioyners ocupation, & make many fine peeces of worke, as Deskes, Cubbordes, Chestes, and other such like thinges, whereof many are caried into Portingall, and much esteemed there, as well for the beautie of the woode, as for the workemanshippe, and specially the Spanish Fleete, which ordinarily refresh themselves in the Iland, do carry much of it from thence, for it is the[1] best and finest that is made in all Spayne and Portingall, although it be not comparable to the Deskes, and fine workemanshippe of Nurenbergh, and those countries: but for wood it excelleth all other countries, for that they have in[2] the Spanish Fleete, besides their owne kindes of woodes, [at the least] a thousande sortes of Woode of all colours that man can imagine or devise, and so fayre that more fayrer can not be paynted. There is a certaine kinde of Woode in the Islande Pico, situate and lying twelve miles from Tercera, called Teixo, a most excellent and princely wood, and therfore it is forbidden to be cut, but only for the Kings owne use, or for his Officers. The wood is as hard as Iron, and hath a colour within, as if it were wrought, like red Chamlet, with the same water, and the older it is and the more used, the fairer it is of colour, so that it is worthie to be esteemed, as in trueth it is.

All those Ilands are inhabited by Portingals, but since the troubles in Portingall, there have bene divers Spanish soldiers sent thether, and a Spanish Governor, that keep all the Forts and Castles in their possessions, although the Portingales are put to no charges, nor yet hardly used by them, but are rather kept short, so that not one soldier dareth goe out of the towne, without licence: and therefore men may quyetlie travell throughout the Iland, both day and night, without any trouble. Likewise they will not suffer any stranger to travel to see the Country: and this order was not brought up

[1] Orig. Dutch: "among the".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "obtain through".

by the Spaniards, but by the Portingals themselves, before their troubles, (for they would never permit it): which is more, all strangers that came thether were usually appointed a certain street, wherin they should sel their wares, and might not goe out of that street. Now it is not so straightlie looked unto, but they may goe in all places of the towne, & within the Iland, but not about it, to view the coast: which notwithstanding was graunted unto us, by the Governor himself, who lent us his horses, to ryde about, and gave us leave to see all the fortes, which at this time is not permitted to the naturall borne Ilanders, neyther are they so much credited. We road twice about the Iland, which he granted us leave to doe, by meanes of certaine particular friendship we had with him: neyther could the Portingales hinder us therein, because wee were in the Kinges service, as Factors for the Kinges Pepper, and for that, they held and accounted us as naturall borne Portingalles: for the Governor would willinglie have had mee, to have drawne a plot of the whole Iland, that he might have sent it to the King: wherein I excused my self: yet I made him the town with the Haven coming in, and Fortes of Angra, which he sent unto the King, the like whereof you may in this Booke behold: for the which the Governor was greatlie affected unto mee, and shewed mee much friendshippe. Wee had in our lodging a French Marchant and a Scot, that willinglie would have gone with us to see the Iland, but could not be suffered: for the Portingalles thinke that they would take the proportion thereof, and so seeke to defeate them of their right.

But returning to our matter, the Ilandes are verie good, and holesome ayre, and the diseases that are most common in those Countries, though not verie plentiful, but only here & there one, are one sicknes called O Ax,[1] that is a kind of [bad

[1] Read: "axe", or properly "ache", which Moraes Silva derives from the English "ache". O is the Portuguese article "the".

ayre yt. taketh them, &][1] maketh them altogether lame, or half lame of [their limmes, or of] some one limme: and an other sicknes, that is called O Sange,[2] that is, a certaine blood, that hastelie cometh uppon a man, as a swelling in the eyes, or other places of the face, or of the bodie, & is as red as blood, for (as they say) it is nothing els but meere blood: there are two diseases like the plague,[3] and are commonest sicknesses in those Countries, which grow by reason of the great windines of the Ilandes, that are subiect to all stormes and foule weathers, and are unreasonable moyst, which is one of the principall causes of these diseases: for the windes are there so strong and dangerous, that they consume both the Iron and the Steele[4] of their houses, and bring them into powder: for I have seene Iron grates in the Kings Custome house, as thicke as a mans arme, [and the windowes of hard free stone],[5] which were so consumed by the wind, that the Iron in some places was become as thynne as a straw, and the stone in like sort: and therefore in those Countries they use to make [their Rooffes and painthouses][6] of stones, which they digge in the water, out of sandes uppon the Sea coast of those Ilandes, whereon the wind hath not so great a power to consume it: and yet that Custome house had not bene made above 6. or 7. yeares before, at the most.

In this Iland besides the two townes, there are divers great villages, as S. Sebastians, S Barboran, Altares, Gualua, Villa noua, with manie other parishes and hamlets: so that for the most part it is built and inhabited, saving onely the places that are wild and full of woods,[7] which can hardlie bee

[1] Orig. Dutch: "paralysis by bad air, which".....

[2] *Sangue* signifies "blood".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "gelijk plagen". The Dutch *plage* is not the English "plague", but is used for disease in general.

[4] Orig. Dutch: "stone".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "and the stones of hewed rocks".

[6] Orig. Dutch: "the gables of their houses".

[7] Orig. Dutch: "wild and desert".

travelled, much lesse inhabited. Their most traffique is (as I[e] said before) the wood[1] that groweth in those countries, I meane for such as deale in marchandise, and the workemen[2] that make it: but the rest waight for the fleets that come and goe to and from the Spanish and Portingall Indies, from Brasilia, Cabo Verde and Guinea: all which countries[3] doe commonly come unto Tercera to refresh themselves, as lying very fitly for that purpose: so that all the inhabitants doe thereby richlie maintaine themselves, and sell al their wares, as well handie works as victuals unto those shippes: and all the Ilandes round about doe as then come unto Tercera with their wares, to sell it there. For the which cause the Englishmen and other strangers[4] keepe continually about those Ilandes, beeing assured that all shippes for want of refreshing must of force put into those Ilandes, although at this time manie shippes doe avoid those Ilandes, to the great discommoditie of the Ilands and the shippes.

From Tercera Southeast, about 27. or 28. miles, lyeth the Iland of S. Michael, which is about 20. myles long, and is likewise full of Townes and Villages inhabited by Portingalles, for ayre and all other thinges like unto Tercera. The chief Towne is called Punta del Gada, where there is great traffique of English, Scots, and French men, onlie[5] (as in Tercera) because of the woad, which is more abundant in that Ilande, then in all the rest of them: for that everie yeare there is made above two hundreth thousand Quintalles of Woad. It hath likewise great abundance of corne, so that they helpe to victuall all the Ilandes that are round about them. It hath neither Havens nor Rivers, but onlie the broad sea, and have lesse safegard and defence then those [which are] of Tercera: but [there they] ly not under the

[1] Read: "woad" (pastel).
[2] Orig. Dutch: "husbandmen".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "and all those countries, (*scil.* whose fleets)."
[4] Orig. Dutch: "pirates".
[5] Orig. Dutch: "more".

commandement of any Fort: so that many set sayle with all the windes, and put to sea, which in the road of Tercera they may not doe: and therefore the strangers shippes had rather sayle to S. Michaels, for there they cannot be constrayned to doe anie thing, but what they will themselves to doe. There is also a company of Spaniards in a Castle that standeth by the Towne of Punta del Gada, [which is made by the Spaniards] for the [defence and] maintenance of the same towne.

From the Iland of S. Michaels Southwardes twelve myles lyeth the Island Santa Maria; which is about ten or twelve myles compasse, and hath no traffique but onlie of pot earth, which the other Ilands fetch from thence. It hath no Woad, but is full of all victualles like Tercera, and inhabited by the Portingales. There are no Spaniards in it: because it is a stonie Countrie, like Tercera, and hard to bord: whereby the inhabitantes themselves are sufficient [and] able to defend it. While I remained in Tercera, the Earle of Comberland came thether,[1] to take in fresh water, and some other victuals: but the inhabitants would not suffer him to have it, but wounded both himself and divers of his men, whereby they were forced to depart without having any thing there.

From Tercera North north west about seven or eight myles lyeth the little Iland called Gratiosa, & is but 5. or 6. miles in compasse, a very pleasaunt and fyne Island, full of all fruites and [all other] victualles, so that it not onley feedeth it self, but also Tercera and the other Islandes about it, and hath no other kinde of merchandise: it is well built[2] and[3] inhabited by Portingales, and hath no soldiers in it, because it is not able to beare the charge. The Earle of Comberland, while I lay in Tercera, came unto that Iland,[4] where himself

[1] See Edw. Wright's "Journal" in *Hakluyt*, ii, p. 161.
[2] Orig. Dutch: "cultivated".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "and much".
[4] See Edw. Wright, p. 159.

in person, with seven or eight in his company went on land, asking certaine beastes, Hennes, and other Victuals, with wyne and fresh water, which they willinglie gave him, and therewith hee departed from thence, without doing them anie hurt: for the which the inhabitantes thanked him, and commended him for his curtesie, and keeping of his promise.[1]

From Tercera West North West, eight or nyne miles, lyeth the Iland of S. George. It is about twelve myles long, but not above 2. or 3. myles at the furthest in breadth: it is wooddie and full of hilles: it hath no speciall traffique, but onelie some Woad, and yet verie little of it. The inhabitants live most by Cattell and tilling of the land, and bring [much] victuals to sell in Tercera: it hath likewise many Cedar trees, and other kindes of wood, that from thence are brought unto Tercera, and sold unto the Ioyners, which for that occasion dwell onlie in Tercera.

From S. George West South west 7. miles, lyeth the Iland called Fayael, which is 17. or 18. miles in compasse: it is one of the best Ilands next unto Tercera, and S. Michaels: it aboundeth in all sorts of victuailes, both flesh and fish, so that from this Iland the most part of victuailes and necessaries commeth by whole Carvels unto Tercera: it hath likewise much Woad, so that many English shippes doe traffique thether. The principall road and place is the towne called Vitta dorta:[2] there the ships likewise doe lie in the open sea under the land, as they do before al ye other Ilands: by this town there lieth a fortresse, but of small importance: & because the inhabitants of themselves do offer to defend the Iland against all enemies, the soldiers were discharged from thence, which before that time lay in the fort complayning that they were not able to maintaine nor lodge them. The same time that the Earle of Cumberland was in the Iland

[1] Orig. Dutch: "civility".
[2] Read: "Villa d'Horta".

of Gratiosa, he came likewise to Fayael,[1] where at the first time that he came, they beganne to resist him, but by reason of some controversie among them, they let him land, where he rased the Castle to the ground, and sunke all their Ordinance in the Sea, taking with him certaine Carvels and ships that lay in the road, with provision of all things that he wanted: and therewith departed againe to Sea. Whereupon the King caused the principall actors therein to bee punished, and sent a companie of Soldiers thether againe, which went out of Tercera, with all kind of warlike munition, and great shotte, making the fortresse up againe, the better to defend the Iland, trusting no more in the Portingales. In that Iland are the most part of the Netherlanders ofspring, yet they use the Portingales language, by reason they have beene so long conversant among them, and those that used the Dutch tongue are all dead: they are greatly affected to the Netherlanders and strangers.

From Fayael Southeast three miles, and from Saint George Southwest foure miles, and from Tercera Southwest and by West twelve miles, lyeth the Iland called Pico, which is more then fifteene miles in length. It is so named of a high mountain that standeth therein called Pico, which is so high, that some thinke it is higher then the Pico of Canaria.[2] When it is cleare weather, it may as perfectly be seene in Tercera, as if it were not halfe a mile from thence, and yet it lyeth about twentie-five miles from it: for it is at the furthest end of the Iland towards Fayael. The toppe of it is seene cleare and bright, but the nether part is covered with cloudes, and with the Horizon, whereby the Iland is much spoken of. It is verie fruitfull of all kinds of victuals, like Fayael, and hath great store of woode, as Cedars and all other kinds, and also the costly wood Teixo. There they build many Carvels and small ships: [& from thence] by reason of the

[1] See Edw. Wright, p. 158.

[2] It is 7,143 feet high; the "Pico de Teyde" of Tenerifa, 11,420 feet.

abundance of woode, they serve[1] the other Ilands with woode. It is [also] inhabited as the rest are, their chiefe traffique being Cattle and husbandrie. It hath much wine, and the best in all those Ilands, and it hath the savorest [and pleasantest] Oranges that are throughout all Portingal: so that they are brought into Tercera for a present, as being ther verie much esteemed, and in my iudgement they are the best that ever I tasted in any place. And because the towne of Angra, in the Iland of Tercera, is the chiefe towne and ruler over al the Flemish Ilands, I thought good to set it downe in this place, in the full proportion, with all the streetes, Fortes, and Road or open Haven, together with the hilles called Bresil, where the sentinell is holden, for all shippes that come into those Ilands: al lively described as in my simple skill I could comprehend and devise it.

THE 98. CHAPTER.

Of the Ilands of Coruo and Flores.

From Tercera westwarde to the Iland named Flores are seventie miles: it is aboute seaven miles compasse, it is also inhabited by Portingales, and hath no speciall marchandise, but onely some wood,[2] it is full of Cattle, and other necessarie provisions, and lyeth open to [all the world, and to] whosoever will come thether, as well Englishmen as others: for that the inhabitants have not the power to resist them. A myle from thence Northward, lyeth a little Iland of two or three miles in compasse called De Coruo. The inhabitants are of the same people that dwel in Flores. Betweene those two Ilands and round about them, the Englishmen doe commonly stay, to watch the ships that come out of the West: for those are

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and they serve also".....

[2] Read: "woad" *(pastel)*.

the first Ilands, that the shippes looke out for and descrie, when they sayle unto Tercera, wherby the inhabitants doe but little prosper, because they are at the pleasure [and commaundement] of all that will come unto them, and take their goods from them, as oftentimes it happeneth. Yet for all their povertie, not to loose [both] landes and goods, they must content themselves, and sayle with everie winde.

The Isle of Tercera lyeth under thirtie nine degrees, in the same height that Lisbone lyeth: and is distant from Lisbone [lying right] East and West two hundred and fiftie Spanish miles. This shall suffice for the description of the Flemmish Ilands, called the Azores, which by dayly traveling unto them are sufficiently knowne: for that at this time many of our nation doe sayle thether, so that everie Marchant knoweth them. This briefe description therfore is by me set down for the instruction of such as deale not in the trade of Marchandise, and know them not, whereby they may see what manner of Countries they are, &c.

The 99. Chapter.

Of certaine notable [and memorable] accidents that happened during my continuance in Tercera.

The second of October An. 1589. at the towne of Villa dan[1] Praya, in the Iland of Tercera, two men being in a field hard without the towne were killed with lightning.

The ninth of the same month there arrived in Tercera fourteen shippes, that came from the Spanish Indies, laden with Cochenile, Hides, Golde, Silver, Pearles, and other [rich] wares. They were fiftie in companie, when they departed out of the Iland of Havana, whereof, in their comming out of the Channell, eleaven sunke [in the same Channell] by

[1] Read: "da".

foule weather, the rest by a storme were scattered and seperated one from the other. The next day there came an other ship of the same companie, [that sayled] close under the Iland, [so] to get into the Roade: [where] she met with an English shippe, that had not above three cast peeces, and the Spaniyard twelve: They fought a long time together, which we being in the Iland might [stand and] behold: whereupon the Governour of Tercera sent two Boates of Musketiers to help the shippe: but before they could come at her, the English shippe had shot her under water, and wee saw her sinke into the Sea, with all her sayles up, and not anything seene of her above the water. The Englishmen with their Boate saved the Captaine and about thirtie others with him, but not one penie worth of the goods, and yet in the shippe there was at the least to the value of two hundred thousand Ducats in Golde, Silver, and Pearles, the rest of the men were drowned, which might bee about fiftie persons, among the which were some Fryers and women, which the Englishmen would not save. Those that they had saved they set on land: and then they sayled away. The twentie seaventh of the same month, the saide fourteene ships having refreshed themselves in the Iland, departed from Tercera towards Sivil,[1] and comming upon the coast of Spaine, they were taken by the English ships, that laye there to watch for them, two onely excepted which escaped away, & the rest were wholly carried into England.

About the same time the Earle of Cumberland, with one of the Queenes shippes, and five or sixe more, kept about those Ilands and came often times so close under the Iland, and to the Road of Angra, that the people on land might easily tell all his men that hee had a bord, and knew such as walked on the Hatches: they of the Ilande not once shooting at them, although they might easily have done it, for they were within Musket shotte both of the towne and Fort. In

[1] *I.e.*, Seville.

these places he continued for the space of two Moneths, and sayled round about the Ilands, and landed in Gratiosa, and Fayael, as in the description of those Ilands I have alreadie declared. Here he tooke divers shippes and Carvels, which he sent into England:[1] so that those of the Iland, durst not once put foorth their heads; at the same time about three or foure daies after the Earle of Cumberland had beene in the Iland of Fayael, and was departed from thence, there arrived in the saide Iland of Fayael sixe Indian ships, whose Generall was one Iuan Doryues: & there they discharged in the Iland 40. myllions of Gold and Silver. And having with all speed refreshed their shippes, fearing the comming of the Englishmen, they set sayle, and arrived safely in Saint Lucas,[2] not meeting with the enemie, to the great good lucke of the Spaniards and hard fortune of the Englishmen: for that within lesse then two daies, after the Golde and Silver was laden againe into the Spanish shippes, the Earle of Cumberland sayled againe by that Iland: so that it appeared that God would not let them have it, for if they had once had sight thereof, without doubt it had beene theirs, as the Spaniardes themselves confessed.

In the Moneth of November, there arrived in Tercera two great ships, which were the Admirall and Vice-Admirall of the Fleete, laden with Silver, who with stormie weather were seperated from the Fleete, and had beene in great [torment and] distresse, and readie to sinke: for they were forced to use all their Pumps: so that they wished a thousand times to have met with the Englishmen, to whom they would willingly have given their Silver, and all that ever they brought with them, onely to save their lives. And although the Earle of Cumberland lay still aboute those Ilands, yet they met not with him, so that after much paine and labour they got into the Road before Angra, where with all speed they unladed,

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "after having disembarked the people".

[2] *I.e.*, San Lucar de Barrameda.

and discharged above five myllions of Silver, all in peeces of 8. and 10. pound great: so that the whole Kaye lay covered with plates and Chests of Silver, full of Ryales of eight, most wonderful to behold: each myllion being 10. hundred thousand Ducats, besides Pearles, Gold, and other stones which were[1] not registred. The Admiral and chiefe commaunder of those shippes & Fleete called Aluaro Flores de Quiniones was sicke of the Neapolitan disease,[2] & was broght to land, whereof not long after he dyed in Syvilia. He brought with him the Kings broad Seale and full authoritie to be Generall and chiefe commaunder upon the Seas, and of all Fleetes or ships, and of all places and Ilands, or lands wheresoever he came: where upon the governor of Tercera did him great honour, and between them it was concluded, perceiving the weaknesse of their ships, and the daunger of the Englishmen, that they would send the ships emptie with Souldiers to conveye them, either to Syvil or Lisbone, where they could first arrive, with advise unto his Maiestie of all that had past, and that he would give order to fetch the Silver, with good and safe convoy. Whereupon the saide Aluaro Flores stayed there, under colour of keeping the Silver, but specially because of his disease, and for that they were affraide of the Englishmen. This Aluaro Flores had alone for his owne part above 50. thousand Ducats in Pearles, which hee shewed unto us, and sought to sell them, or barter them with us for Spices, or bils of exchange. The said two shippes set sayle with three or foure hundred men, [as well Souldiers as others, that came with them out of India],[3] and being at Sea had a storme, wherewith the Admirall burst and sunke in the Sea, and not one man saved. The Vice-Admirall cut downe her Mast, and ranne the ship on ground hard by Sentuual,[4]

[1] Orig. Dutch: "are".

[2] *I.e.*, "syphilis".

[3] Orig. Dutch: "partly the crew of the ships, partly soldiers to convoy them".

[4] *I.e.*, Setubal, on the coast of Portugal.

where it burst in peeces, some of the men saving themselves by swimming, that brought the news, but the rest were drowned.

In the same month, there came two great ships out of the Spanish Indies, and being within halfe a mile of the Road of Tercera, they met with an English shippe, that after they had fought long together,[1] tooke them both. About 7. or 8. Monthes before, there had been an English shippe in Tercera, that under the name of a Frenchman came to traffique in the Iland, there to lade woode,[2] & being discovered was both shippe and goods confiscated to the Kings use, and all the men kept prisoners: yet went they up and downe the streetes to get their livings, by labouring like slaves, being in deede as safe in that Iland, as if they had beene in prison. But in the end upon a Sunday, all the Saylers went downe behind the hils called Bresil: wher they found a Fisher-boate whereinto they got, & rowed into the Sea to the Earle of Cumberlands ship, which to their great fortune chanced at that time to come by the Iland, and Ankered with his shippes about halfe a mile from the Road of Angra, hard by two small Ilandes, which lye about a Bases shot from the Iland and are full of Goates, Buckes, and sheepe, belonging to the inhabitants of the Iland of Tercera. Those Saylers knew it well, and thereupon they rowed unto them with their Boates, and lying at Anker that day, they fetched as many Goates and sheepe as they had neede of: which those of the towne and of the Iland well saw and beheld, yet durst not once goe forth, so there remained no more on land but the Master, & the Marchant, of the said English ship.[3] This Master had a brother in lawe dwelling in England, who having newes of his brothers imprisonment in Tercera, got licence of the Queene of England, to set forth a ship, therewith to

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "which we saw from the island".
[2] Read: "woad" *(pastel)*.
[3] Orig. Dutch: (add) "that had procured bail".

see if hee could recover his losses of the Spaniards, by taking some of them, and so to redeeme his brother, that laye prisoner in Tercera, and he it was that tooke the two Spanish ships before the towne.[1] The Master [of the ship] aforesaid, standing on the shore by me, and looking upon them, for he was my great acquaintance, the ships being taken, that were worth 300. thousand Ducats, he sent all the men on land saving only two of the principal Gentlemen, which he kept a borde, therby to ransome his brother: and sent the Pilot of one of the Indian ships that were taken, with a letter to the Governour of Tercera: wherein hee wrote that he should deliver him his brother, and hee would send the two Gentlemen on land: if not he would sayle with them into England, as indeed he did, because the Governor would not doe it, saying that the Gentlemen might make that suit to the King of Spaine himselfe. This Spanish Pilot we bid to supper with us, and the Englishmen likewise, wher hee shewed us all the manner of their fight, much commending the order and manner of the Englishmens fighting, as also for their curteous using of him: [but] in the end the English Pilote likewise stole away in a French ship, without paying any ransome [as yet].

In the month of Ianuarie 1590. there arrived one shippe alone in Tercera, that came from the Spanish Indies, & brought newes, that there was a Fleete of a hundreth shippes which put out from ye Firm land of the Spanish Indies, and by a storme were driven upon the coast called Florida, where they were all cast away, she having only escaped, wherin there were great riches, & many men lost, as it may well be thought: so that they made their account that of 220. ships, that for certaine were knowne to have put out of Nova Spaigna, Santo Domingo, Havana, Capo-verde, Brasilia, Guinea, &c., in the yeare 1589. to sayle for Spaine and Portingall, there were not above fourteene or fifteene of them

[1] Orig. Dutch: "before our eyes".

arrived there in safetie, all the rest being either drowned, burst or taken.

In the same Moneth of Ianuarie, there arrived in Tercera 15. or 16. shippes that came from Sivilia, which were most Flie-boates of the lowe countries, and some Britons[1] that were arrested in Spain: these came full of soldiers, and well appointed with munition, to lade the silver that lay in Tercera, and to fetch Aluares de Flores by the Kings commandement into Spain. And because that tyme of the yeare there is alwaies stormes about those Ilandes, therefore they durst not enter into the road of Tercera, for that as then it blew so great a storme, that some of their shippes that had ankered, were forced to cut downe their mastes, and were in danger to be lost: and among the rest a shippe of Biscay ranne against the land, and was stricken in peeces, but al the men saved themselves. The other shippes were forced to keepe the sea, and separate themselves one from the other, where wind and weather would drive them, untill the 15. of March: for that in all that time they could not have one day of faire weather to anker in, whereby they indured much miserie, cursing both the silver and the Iland. This storme being past, they chanced to meet with a small English ship of about 40. tunnes in bignes, which by reason of the great wind could not beare all her sayles: so they set upon her, and tooke her, and with the English flagge in their Admiralles stern they came as proudly into the haven, as if they had conquered all the Realme of England: but [as the Admirall that bare the English flagge upon her sterne, was] entering into the road, there came by chance two English shippes by the Iland, that payed her so well for her paynes, that they were forced to cry Misericordia, and without all doubt had taken her, if she had beene but a myle further in the sea: but because she got under the Fortresse, which also began to shoot at the Englishmen, they were forced to leave her, and

[1] Orig. Dutch: "Bertoenen", *i.e.*, Bretons (Bretagne).

to put further into the sea, having slayne 5. or 6. of the Spaniardes. The English men that were taken in the small shippe were put under hatches, and coupled in boltes, and after they had been prisoners three or foure dayes, there was a Spanish Ensigne-bearer in the shippe, that had a brother slayne in the fleet that came for England, who as then, mynding to revenge his death, and withal to shew his manhood to the English captives, that were in the English shippe, which they had taken, as is aforesayed, tooke a poinyard in his hand, and went downe under the hatches, where finding the poor Englishmen sitting in boltes, with the same poinyard hee stabbed sixe of them to the heart: which two others of them perceyving clapsed each other about the middle, because they would not bee murthered by him, threw themselves into the sea, and there were drowned. This act was of all the Spaniardes much disliked and verie ill taken, so that they caryed the Spaniard prisoner unto Lisbon, where being arived, the King of Spaine willed he should bee sent into England, that the Queene of England might use him as shee thought good: which sentence his friends by intreaty got to be reversed, notwithstanding he commanded he should without all favor be beheaded: but upon a good Fryday, [the Cardinall going to Masse,] all the Captaines and Commanders made so great intreaty for him[1] that in the end they got his pardon. This I thought good to note, that men might understand the bloodie and honest mindes of the Spaniardes, when they have men under their subiection.[2]

The same two English shippes, which followed the Spanish Admirall till he had got under the Fort of Tercera, as I said before, put into the sea, where they met with an other Spanish ship, beeing of the same Fleet, that had likewise bene scatered by the storme and was onlie missing, for the

[1] Orig. Dutch: (add) "to the Cardinal" (viz., Albert of Austria, the Spanish governor at Lisbon).

[2] Orig. Dutch: "when they predominate anywhere".

rest lay in the road: this small shippe the Englishmen tooke and sent all the men on shore, not hurting any of them: but if they had knowne what had beene done unto the foresaid English captives, I beleeve they would soone have revenged themselves, as afterwards manie an innocent soule payed for it. This ship thus taken by the English men, was the same that was kept and confiscated in the Iland of Tercera, by the English men that got out of the Iland in a fisher boate (as I sayd before) and was[1] sold unto the Spaniardes, that as then came from the Indies, wherewith they sayled to S. Lucas, where it was also arrested by the Duke, and appointed to goe in company to fetch the silver in Tercera, because it was a shippe that sayled well,[2] but among the Spaniardes fleet[3] it was the meanest of the company. By this meanes it was taken[4] [from the Spaniards], and caryed into England, and the owners had it againe, when they least thought of it.

The 19. of Marche, the aforesaid shippes, being 19. in number, set sayle, having laden the Kings silver, and received in Aluaro Flores de Quiniones, with his company, and good provision of necessaries, munition and soldiers, that were fullie resolved (as they made shewe) to fight valiantly to the last man, [before they would yeeld or lose their riches]: and although they set the course for S. Lucas, the wind drave them unto Lisbon, which (as it seemed) was willing by his force to helpe them, and to bring them thether in safetie: although Aluaro de Flores, both against the wind and weather would perforce have sayled to Saint Lucas, but being constrained by the wind, and importunitie of the Saylers, that protested they would require their losses and damages of him, he was content to sayle to Lisbone: from whence the Silver was by land carried into Sivilia. At Cape Saint

[1] Orig. Dutch: "had been".
[2] Orig. Dutch: (add) "being in hands of its English masters".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "but in the hands of the Spaniards".
[4] Orig. Dutch: "retaken".

Vincent, there lay a Fleete of twentie English shippes, to watch for the Armada, so that if they had put into Saint Lucas, they had fallen right into their handes, which if the wind had served them they had done. And therefore they may say that the wind had lent them a happie Viage: for if the Englishmen had met with them, they had surely beene in great danger, and possibly but few of them had escaped, by reason of the feare wherewith they were possessed, because fortune [or rather God] was wholly against them, which is a sufficient cause to make ye Spaniards out of hart, to the contrarie to give the Englishmen more courage, and to make them bolder for that they are victorious [stout and valiant: and] seeing al their enterprises doe take so good effect, that thereby they are become Lordes and masters of the Sea, and neede care for no man, as it well appeareth [by this briefe discourse].[1]

In the month of March 1590. there was a [blasing] Starre with a tayle seene in Tercera, that continued foure nights together, stretching the taile towards the South.

In the Month of May, a Carvel of Fayael arrived at Tercera, in the Haven or Roade of Angra, laden with Oxen, sheepe, Hennes, and all other kinds of victuals, and full of people, which by a storme had broken her Ruther, whereby the Sea cast her about and therewith shee sunke, and in her were drowned three children, and a Frier Franciscan, the rest of the men saved themselves by swimming, and by helpe from the shore, but all the Cattle and Hennes came drowned to land: the Frier was buried with a great procession and solemnitie,[2] esteeming him for a Saint because he was taken up dead with his Booke[3] between his armes: for the which cause every man came to looke on him as a myracle, giving gret offerings to say Masses for his soule.

[1] Orig. Dutch: "and may partly be understood in this memorial".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "rosaries".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "breviary".

The first of August the Governour of Tercera, received advise out of Portingall and Spaine, that two yeares before [the date of his letters,] there were sayled out of England twelve great shippes wel apointed, with full resolution to take their iournie, seven of them into the Portingall Indies, and the other five to Malacca: of the which five, two were cast away in passing the Straightes of Magellanes, and three sayled to Malacca: but what they had done there, was as then not knowne. The other seven passed the Cape de Bona Speranza, and arrived in India, where they put into the coast of Malabar, and there tooke sixe Foistes of the Malabares, but let them goe againe: and two Turkish Gallies, that came out of the Straightes of Mecca or the redde Sea, to whome likewise they did no hurt. And [there] they laded their shippes with Spices, and returned backe againe on their way: but where or in what place they had laden, it was not certainely knowne, saving onely that thus much was written by the Governour of India, and sent over land to Venice, and from thence to Madril.[1]

The seventh of August a Navie of English shippes was seene before Tercera, being 20. in number, and five of them the Queenes shippes: their Generall was one Martin Furbusher,[2] as wee after had intelligence. They came purposely to watch for the Fleet of the Spanish Indies, [and for the Indian shippes,] and the ships of the countries[3] in the West: which put the Ilanders in great feare, specially those of Fayael, for that the Englishmen sent a Trumpet to the Governour to aske [certaine] wine, flesh, and other victuals for their mony, and good friendship. They of Fayael did not onely refuse to give ear unto them, but with a shot killed

[1] This seems to be a very incorrect statement of the voyage of Thomas Cavendish. No English ship passed the Cape for India before that of James Lancaster in 1591.

[2] Frobisher.

[3] Orig. Dutch: "other countries".

their messenger or Trumpeter: which the Englishmen tooke in evill part, sending them word [that they were best] to [looke to themselves, &] stand uppon their gard, for they ment to come and visite them whether they would or no. The Governor made them answere, that he was there, in the behalfe of his Maiestie of Spaine, and that he would doe his best to keepe them out, as he was bound: but nothing was done, althogh they of Fayael were in no litle feare sending to Tercera for aide, from whence they had certaine Barkes with poulder and munition for warre, with some[1] Bisket and other necessarie provision.

The 30. of August we received [very] certaine newes out of Portingal, that ther were 80. ships put out of the Carunho,[2] laden with victuals, Munition, money and Souldiers, to goe for Britaine[3] to aide the Catholicks, and Leaguers of Fraunce, against the King of Navarre. At the same time, two Netherland Hulkes, comming out of Portingall to Tercera, being halfe the Seas over, met with foure of the Queenes ships, their General being S. John Hawkins, that stayed them, but let them goe again, without doing them any harme. The Netherlanders reported, that each of the Queenes ships had 80. peeces of Ordinance, and that Captaine Drake lay with 40. shippes in the English Channell, watching for the Army of the Carunho: and likewise that there lay at the Cape S. Vincent tenne other English shippes, that if any shippes escaped from the Ilandes, they might take them. Those tidings put the Ilanders in great feare, least if they fayled of the Spanish Fleet, and got nothing by them, that then they would fall upon the Ilands, because they would not returne emptie home, whereupon they held straight watch, sending advise unto the king what newes they heard.

The first of September, there came to the Iland of S.

[1] Orig. Dutch: "much".
[2] La Coruña in Galicia.
[3] Bretagne.

Michael a Portingall shippe, out of the Haven of Pernanbuco, in Brasilia, which brought newes that the Admirall of the Portingall fleet, that came from India, having missed the Iland of S. Helena, was of necessitie constrayned to put in Parnanbuco, although ther King [had] expreslie under a great penaltie forbidden[1] [him] so to doe, because of the wormes that there doe spoile the ships. The same ship wherin[2] Bernaldin Rybero[3] was [Admirall] the yeare [before] 1589. sayled out of Lisbone into the Indies with 5. ships [in her company] whereof but 4. got into India, the 5. was never heard of, so yt. it was thought to be cast away: The other foure returned safe againe into Portingale, though the Admirall was much spoiled, because he met with two English ships, that fought long with him, and slew many of his men, but yet he escaped from them.

The 5. of the same moneth, there arrived in Tercera a carvell of the Island of Corvo and brought with her 50. men that had been spoiled by the Englishmen, who had set them on shore in the Iland of Corvo, being taken out of a shippe that came from the Spanish Indies, they brought tydinges that the Englishmen had taken foure more of the Indian ships, and a carvell with the King of Spaines letters of advise for the ships comming out of the Portingal Indies, & that with those which they had taken, there were at the least fourty English shippes together, so that not one Barke escaped them, but fel into their hands, and that therefore the Portingall ships comming out of India, durst not put into the Ilands, but tooke their course under 40. and 42. degrees, and from thence sayled to Lisbon, shunning likewise ye cape S. Vincent, otherwise they could not have had a prosperous iourney of it, for that as then the sea was ful of English ships. Whereupon the King advised the fleet, lying in Havana, in the Spanish

[1] Orig. Dutch: "forbids".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "This admiral named".....
[3] Bernardim Ribeiro Pacheco.

Indies ready to come for Spain, that they should stay there all that yeare, till the next yeare, because of the great danger they might fal into by the Englishmen, which was no small charge, and hinderance to the Fleet, for that the ships that lie there doe consume themselves, & in a manner eat up one an other by reason of the great number of people, together with the scarsetie of al things, so that many ships chose rather, one by one to adventure themselves alone, to get home, then to stay there: all which fell into the Englishmens hands, whereof divers of the men were brought into Tercera, for that a whole day we could see nothing els, but spoyled men set on shore, some out of one ship, some out of an other, that pittie it was to see, al of them cursing the Englishmen, and their owne fortunes, with those that had bin the causes to provoke the Englishmen to fight, and complayning of the small remedie [and order] taken therein by the King of Spaines Officers.

The 19. of the same month there came to Tercera a Carvel of Lisbon, with one of the Kings officers, to cause the goods that were saved out of the ship which came from Malacca, (for the which we stayed there) to be laden, and sent to Lisbon. And at the same tyme there put out of the Carunha one Don Alonso de Bassan, with 40. great shippes of warre to come unto the Ilands, ther to watch for the fleet of the Spanish & Portingall Indies, and the goods of the Malacca ship being laden, they were to convoy them [all together] into the river of Lisbon: but being certaine daies at sea, alwaies having a contrary wind they could not get unto the Ilands: only two of them that were scattered from the fleet, arrived at Tercera, & not finding the fleet, they presently returned backe to seek them: in the meane time the King changed his mind, and caused the fleet to stay in India,[1] as I said before: & therfore he sent word unto Don Alonso de Bassan, that he shuld return again to ye Carunho, which he presently did

[1] *I.e.*, America.

(without doing any thing, nor once approching neere the Ilands, saving only the 2. foresaid ships, for he wel knew yt. the Englishmen lay by the Iland of Coruo, but he would not visit them: and so he returned to the haven of Carunha, wherby our goods that came from Malacca, were yet to ship, and trussed up again, and forced to stay a more fortunat time, wt. patience perforce.

The 23. of October there arrived in Tercera a Carvel, with advise out of Portingale yt. of 5. ships, which in the yere 1590. wer laden in Lisbon for ye Indes, 4. wer turned again to Portingale after they had bin 4. months abrod, & that the Admiral, wherin the Viceroy called Mathias d'Alburkerke[1] sayled, had only gotten to India, as afterward news therof was brought over lande, having beene at ye least 11. monthes at sea, and never saw land, & came in great miserie to Malacca.[2] In this shippe there dyed by the way 280. men, according to a note by himselfe made, and sent to the Cardinal at Lisbone, wt. the names & surnames of every man, together wt. a description of his voyage, & the miserie they had indured: which was only done, because he wold not lose ye Government of India: & for that cause he had sworne eyther to lose his life, or to arrive in India, as indeede he did [afterwardes, but] to the great [daunger,] losse [and hinderance] of his companie, that were forced to buy it with their lives, and onely for want of provision, as it may well be thought: for hee knew full wel that if he had returned backe againe into Portingal, as the other shippes did, he should have beene cassiered from his Indian regiment, because the people beganne alreadie[3] to murmure at him, for his proude and loftie mind. And among other things[4] [that

[1] Mathias de Albuquerque.

[2] According to Ign. da Costa Quintella (*Annaes da marinha Portug.*, ii, p. 52), the ship came in May 1591 to Goa, after having passed the winter in Moçambique.

[3] Orig. Dutch: "much".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "whims".

showed his pride the more], behind above the gallery of his ship, he caused Fortune to be painted, & his owne picture with a staffe standing by [her, as it were] threatening Fortune, with this posee, *Quero que vencas*, that is, I will have thee to overcome: which being read by the Cardinall and other Gentlemen (that to honour him brought him abord his shippe) it was thought to be a point of exceeding folly: but it is no strange matter among the Portingalles, for they above all others must of force let the foole peepe out of their sleeves, specially when they are in authoritie: for that I knew the said Mathias d'Alburkerk in India, being a soldier and a Captaine, where he was esteemed and accounted for one of the best of them, and much [honoured, and] beloved of all men, as behaving himselfe courteously to every man: whereby they all desired that he might be Viceroy. But when he once had receyved his Patent with full power [and authority from the King to be Viceroy][1] he changed so much from his former behavior, that by reason of his pride, they al began to feare and curse him, [& that] before he departed out of Lisbone, as it is often seene in many men that are advanced unto state & dignity.

The 20. of Ianuarie Anno 1591. there was newes brought out of Portingall into Tercera, that the Englishmen had taken a shippe, that the King had sent into the Portingall Indies, with advise to the Viceroy, for the returning again of the [foure] ships [that should have gone to India], & because the ships were come backe againe, that ship was stuffed and laded as full of goods as possible it might bee, having likewise in ready money 500. thousand duckets in Rials of 8. besides other wares. It departed from Lisbone in the month of November 1590. & met with ye Englishmen, with whom for a time it fought: but in ye end it was taken & carried into England with men & all, yet when they came there, the men were set at libertie, & returned into Lisbone, where the

[1] Orig. Dutch: "power of government".

Captaine was committed prisoner: but he excused himselfe, & was released, wt. whom I spake myselfe, & he made this report unto mee. At the same time also they tooke a ship that came from the Mine[1] laden wt. gold, & 2. ships laden with Pepper and spices, that were to saile into Italie, the pepper onely that was in them, being worth 170. thousand duckets: all these ships were caried into England, and made good prise.

In the month of Iuly An. 1591. there happened an earthquake in the Iland of S. Michael, which continued from the 26. of Iuly, to the 12. of August: in which time no man durst stay within his house, but fled into the fields, fasting & praying, [wt. great sorrow][2] for yt many of their houses fel down, & a towne called Villa Franca, was almost cleane razed to ye ground, all the cloisters and houses shaken to the earth, & therein some people slain. The land in some places rose up, and the cliffes removed from one place to another, & some hils were defaced and made even with the ground. The earthquake was so strong that the ships which lay in the road, & on the sea, shaked as if the world would have turned round: there sprang also a fountaine out of the earth, from whence for the space of 4. daies, there flowed a most cleare water, & after that it ceased. At the same time they heard such thunder, & noise under the earth, as if all the Devils in hel had been assembled together in that place, wherewith many dyed for fear. The Iland of Tercera shooke 4. times together, so that it seemed to turne about, but there happened no misfortune unto it. Earthquakes are common in those Ilandes, for about 20. yeares past there happened another earthquake, wherein a high hill that lyeth by ye same towne of Villa Franca, fell halfe downe, and covered all the towne with earth, and killed many men.

The 25. of August, ye Kings Armada comming out of Faro arived in Tercera, being in all 30. ships, Biskaies, Portingals

[1] Orig. Dutch: "van de Myna", *i.e.*, from Guinea.

[2] Orig. Dutch: "and much lamenting".

& Spaniards: & 10. Dutch flie-boats, yt. were arested in Lisbone to serve ye king, besides other smal ships, Pataxos, yt. came to serve as messengers from place to place, & to discover the seas. This navie came to stay for, & convoy the ships that shold come from the Spanish Indies, & the flieboates were apointed in their returne home, to take in the goods yt were saved in ye lost ship yt came from Malacca, & to convoy it to Lisbon.

The 13. of September the saide Armado arived at the Iland of Coruo, where the Englishmen with about sixteene shippes as then lay,[1] staying for the Spanish Fleete: whereof some of the most parte were come, and there the English were in good hope to have taken them. But when they perceyved the Kings Army to be strong, the Admirall being the Lorde Thomas Howard, commaunded his Fleete not to fall upon them, nor any of them once to seperate their shippes from him, unlesse he gave commission so to doe: notwithstanding the Vice Admirall Sir Rychard Greenfield[2] being in the ship called the Revenge went into the Spanish fleete, and shot among them, doing them great hurte, and thinking the rest of the company would have followed: which they did not, but left him there, and sayled away: the cause why could not be knowne: which the Spaniardes perceiving, with seven or eight shippes they borded her, but she withstood them all, fighting with them at the least 12. houres together, and sunk two of them, one being a newe double Flie boat, of 12,000. tunnes, and Admirall of the Flie boates, the other a Biscaine: But in the ende by reason of the number that came uppon her she was taken, but to their great losse: for they had lost in fighting, and by drowning above 400. men, and of the English were slaine about a hundred, Sir Rychard

[1] See the report by Sir Walter Raleigh in Hakluyt's second volume, p. 169 ff. This is the story of Tennyson's famous poem, *The Revenge:*

"At Flores in the Azores
Sir Richard Grenville lay," etc.

[2] Read: "Greenville".

Greenfield himselfe being wounded in his braine, whereof afterwardes hee dyed. He was borne into the ship called the Saint Paule, wherein was the Admirall of the fleet Don Alonso de Barsan:[1] there his woundes were drest by the Spanish Surgeons, but Don Alonso himselfe would neither see him, nor speake with him: all the rest of the Captaines and Gentlemen went to visite him, and to comfort him in his hard fortune, wondring at his courage, and stout heart, for that he shewed not any signe of faintnes nor changing of colour. But feeling the hower of death to approch, hee spake these wordes in Spanish, [& said]: Here die I Richard Greenfield, with a ioyfull and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, yt. hath fought for his countrey, Queene, religion, and honor, whereby my soule most ioyfull departeth out of this bodie, and shall alwaies leave behinde it an everlasting fame of a valiant and true[2] soldier, that hath done his dutie, as he was bound to doe.[3] When he had finished these [or such other like] words, hee gave up the Ghost, with great and stout courage,[4] and no man could perceive any true signe of heavinesse[5] in him.

This Sir Richard Greenfield was a great and a rich Gentleman in England, and had great yearly revenewes of his owne inheritance: but he was a man very unquiet in his minde, and greatly affected to warre: in so much as of his owne private motion hee offered his service to the Queene; he had performed many valiant actes, and was greatlie feared in these Islands, and knowne of every man, but of nature [very] severe,[6] so that his owne people hated him for his fiercenes,[7]

[1] Read: "Basan".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "volherdigh ende vroom" (persevering and valiant).

[3] Orig. Dutch: (add) "but my other companions have done as traitors and blood-hounds, and will their whole life be vituperated for it and infamous in eternity".

[4] Orig. Dutch: "with great steadfastness".

[5] Orig. Dutch: "any real change".

[6] Orig. Dutch; "cruel".

[7] Orig. Dutch: "tyranny".

and [spake verie hardly of him]:[1] for when they first entred into the Fleete or Armado, they had their great sayle in a readinesse, and might possiblie enough have sayled away: for it was one of the best ships for sayle in England, and the Master perceiving that the other shippes had left them, and followed not after, commaunded the great sayle to be cut, that they might make away: but Sir Richard Greenefield threatned both him, and all the rest that were in the ship, that if any man laid hand uppon it, he would cause him to be hanged, and so by that occasion they were compelled to fight, and in the end were taken. He was of so hard a complection, that as he continued among the Spanish Captaines while they were at dinner or supper with him, he would carouse three or foure glasses of wine, and in a braverie take the glasses betweene his teeth and crash them in peeces and swallow them downe, so that often times the blood ran out of his mouth without any harme at all unto him, and this was told me by divers credible persons that many times stoode and behelde him. The English men that were left in the ship, as the captaine of the souldiers, the Master and others, were dispersed into divers of the Spanish ships that had taken them, where there had almost a new fight arisen betweene the Biscaines and the Portingales; while ech of them would have the honour to have first borded her, so that there grew a great noise and quarrell among them, one taking the chiefe ancient,[2] & the other the flagge,[3] and the Captaine and everie one held his owne. The ships that had borded her were altogether out of order, and broken, and many of their men hurt, whereby they were compelled to come into the Island of Tercera, there to repaire themselves: where being arived, I & my chamber fellow, to heare some newes went abord one of the ships being a great Biscaine, and one of the twelve

[1] Orig. Dutch: "feared him much".
[2] Orig. Dutch: "die staudarten" (the banners).
[3] Orig. Dutch: "flags".

Apostles, whose Captaine was called Bertandono, that had bin Generall of the Biscaynes in the fleete that went for England. Hee seeing us called us up into the gallerie, where with great curtesie hee received us, beeing as then set at dinner with the English Captaine that sate by him, and had on a sute of blacke velvet, but he could not tell us any thing, for that he could speake no other language, but English and Latine, which Bartandano also could a little speake. The English Captaine got licence of the governour that hee might come on land with his weapon by his side, and was in our lodging with the Englishman that was kept prisoner in the Iland, being of that ship wherof the saylers got away, as I said before. The Governour of Tercera had him to dinner, & shewed him great curtesie. The Master likewise with licence of Bartandano came on land, and was in our lodging, and had at the least ten or twelve woundes, as well in his head, as on his body, whereof after that being at sea, betweene Lisbone & the Ilands he died. The Captaine wrote a letter, wherein he declared all the manner of the fight, and left it with the English Marchant that lay in our lodging, to send it to the Lord Admiral of England. This English Captaine comming unto Lisbone, was there well received, and not any hurt done unto him, but with good convoy sent to Sentuval,[1] & from thence sayled into England, with all the rest of the Englishmen that were taken prisoners.

The Spanish armie staied at the Island of Coruo til the last of September, to assemble the rest of the fleet together: which in the end were to the number of 140: saile of ships partly comming from India,[2] and partly of the Army, & being altogether ready unto saile to Tercera[3] in good company, there sodainely rose so hard [and cruell] a storme, that those of the Island did affirme, that in mans memorie there was never any such seen or heard of before: for it seemed the sea would

[1] Setubal.
[2] *I.e.*, America.
[3] Read: "to saile unto Tercera".

have swallowed up the Island[s], the water mounting higher than the Cliffes, which are so high that it amaseth a man to beholde them: but the sea reached above them, and living fishes were throwne uppon the land. This storme continued not only a day or two with one wind, but seaven or eight dayes continually, the wind turning round about, in all places of the compasse, [at the least] twice [or thrice during that time,] and all alike with a continuall storme and tempest most terrible to behold, even to us that were on shore, much more then to such as were at sea: so that only on the coastes and Cliffes of the Iland of Tercera, there were above twelve ships cast away, and not only uppon the one side, but round about it in every corner: wherby nothing els was heard but complayning, crying, lamenting, and telling here is a shippe broken in peeces against the Cliffes, and there another, and all the men drowned: so that for the space of 20. dayes after the storme, they did nothing els but fish for dead men, that continually came driving on the shore. Among the rest was the English ship called the Revenge, that was cast away upon a Cliffe nere to the Island of Tercera, where it brake in a hundred peeces and sunke to the ground, having in her 70. men, Gallegos, Biscaines, and others, with some of the captive Englishmen, whereof but one was saved that got upon the Cliffes alive, and had his body and head all wounded, and hee being on shore brought us the newes desiring to be shriven, & therupon presently died. The Revenge had in her divers faire brasse peeces, that were all sunke in the sea, which they of the Island were in good hope to waigh up againe, the next summer after. Among these shippes that were cast away about Tercera, was likewise a Flie-boat, one of those that had bin arested in Portingall [to serve the King], called the white Dove. The Master of her, was one Cornelius Martenson of Schiedam in Holland, and there were in her one hundred souldiers; as in everie one of the rest there was. He being over ruled by the Captaine that he could not be Master

of his owne, sayling here and there at the mercie of God, [as the storme drove him, in the end] came within the sight of the Island of Tercera: which the Spaniards perceiving, thought al their safety only to consist in putting into the road, compelling the Master and the Pilot[1] to make towards the Island, although the Master refused to doe it, saying, that they were most sure there to be cast away, and utterly spoyled: but the Captaine called him drunkard, and Heriticke, and striking him with a staffe, commanded him to do as he would have him. The Master seeing this, and being compelled to doe it said: well then [my Masters,] seeing it is the desire of you all to bee cast away, I can but loose one life, and therwith desperately he sayled towards the shore, and was on that side of the Island, where there was nothing els but hard stones and rockes, as high as Mountaines, most terrible to behold, where some of the Inhabitantes stood with long ropes and corke bound at the end thereof, to throw them downe unto the men, that they might lay hold upon them [and save their lives]: but few of them got so neere, most of them being cast away, and smitten in peeces before they could get to the wall. The ship sayling in this manner (as I said before) [towards the Island &] approching to the shore, the master being an old man, [and ful of yeres, [called his sonne that was in the shippe with him, and having imbraced one another, and taken their last farewell, the [good] old Father willed his sonne not to care for him, but seeke to save himselfe: for (said he) sonne thou art yong, and may have some hope to save thy life, but as for me it is no great matter [I am old] what becomes of me, and therewith each of these shedding many teares, as everie loving father and kinde childe may well consider, the ship fell upon the Cliffes & brake in peeces, the father on the one side, the sonne on the other side falling into the sea, each laying hold upon that which came next to hand, but to no purpose: for the sea was

[1] Orig. Dutch: "sailors".

so high and furious, that they were all drowned, and onelie fourteene or fifteene saved themselves by swimming, with their legges and armes halfe broken and out of ioint, among the which was the Masters son, and foure other Dutch boies: the rest of the Spaniards and Saylers, with the Captaine and Master were drowned: whose heart would not melt with teares to behold so grievous a sight, specially considering with himselfe that the greatest cause thereof was ye beastlines and insolencie[1] of the Spaniards, as in this only example may wel bee seene: whereby may be considered how the other ships sped, as wee ourselves did in part behold, and by the men that were saved did heare more at large, as also some others of our Countrimen that as then were in the like danger[2] can well witnes.

On the other Islandes the losse was no lesse then in Tercera: for on the Island of Saint George there were two ships cast away: on the Island of Pico two shippes: on the Island Gratiosa, three ships; and besides those there came everie where round about divers peeces of broken ships, and other things fleeting towards the Islands, wherewith the sea was all covered most pittifull to behold. On the Island of S. Michaell, there were foure ships cast away, and betweene Tercera and S. Michaels three more were sunke, which were seene and heard to crie [out,] whereof not one man was saved. The rest put into the sea without Masts, all torne and rent: so that of the whole Fleete and Armado, being 140. ships in al, there were but 32. or 33. arived in Spaine and Portingall, yea and those few with so great miserie, paine, & labor, that not two of them arived there together, but this day one, and to-morrow another, [next day the third, and so one after the other to ye number aforesaid]. All the rest were cast away upon the Islands, and overwhelmed in the sea: whereby may bee considered what great losse and hin-

[1] Orig. Dutch: "ignorance".

[2] Orig. Dutch: "captivity and misery".

derance they receaved at that time: for by many mens iudgementes it was esteemed to be much more then was left by[1] their armie that came for England, and it may well bee thought, and presumed, that it was no other but a iust plague purposely sent by God upon the Spaniards, & that it might truely bee said, the taking of the Revenge was iustlie revenged uppon them, and not by the might or force of man, but by the power of God, as some of them openly said in the Isle of Tercera, that they beleeved verily God would consume them, and that hee tooke part with Lutheranes and Heretickes: saying further yt so soone as they had throwne the dead bodie of the Vice-Admirall Sir Richard Greenfield over borde, they verily thought that as he had a devilish faith [and religion], and therefore ye devils loved him, so hee presently sunke into the bottome of the sea, & downe into Hell, where he raysed up all the devilles to the revenge of his death: and that they brought so great stormes and tormentes upon the Spaniardes, because they only maintained the Catholicke and Romish religion: such and the like blasphemies against God they ceased not openly to utter, without that any man reproved them therein, nor for their false opinions, but the most part of them rather said and affirmed, that of truth it must needes be so.

As one of those Indian Fleetes put out of Nova Spaigna, there were 35. of them[2] by storme and tempest cast away and drowned in the sea, being 50. in all, so that but 15. escaped. Of the fleete that came from Santo Domingo, there were 14. cast away, comming out of the channell of Havana, whereof the Admirall, and Vice-Admirall were two of them: and from Terra Firma in India, there came two shippes laden with gold and silver, that were taken by the Englishmen, and before the Spanish Armie came to Coruo, the Englishmen

[1] Orig. Dutch: "than the loss of"; (probably read, "lost by their armie that came for England", *i.e.*, the Great Armada of 1588).

[2] Orig. Dutch: "ships".

at times had taken at the least 20. shippes, that came from S. Domingo, India, Brasillia, &c. and al sent into England. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that in ye end God wil assuredly plague the Spaniards, having already[1] blinded them, so that they have not the sence to perceive it, but still [to] remain in their obstinate opinions: but it is lost labour to strive against God, and to trust in man, as being foundations erected uppon the sands, which with the wind are [blowne down, and] overthrown, as we dayly see before our eyes, and now not long since[2] in many places have evidently observed: and therefore let every man but looke into his owne actions, & take our Low countries for an example, wherein we can but blame our owne sinnes and wickednesse, which doth so blind us, that we wholly forget and reiect the benefites of God, continuing the servantes & yoke-slaves of Sathan. God of his mercie open our eyes and hearts, that wee may know our onely health and saviour Jesus Christ, who onely can helpe, governe, and preserve us, and give us a happie ende in all our affaires. By this destruction of the Spaniardes and their evil successe, the lading and shipping of the goods that were saved out of the shippe that came from Malacca to Tercera, was againe put off: and therefore we must have patience till it please God to send a fitter time, & that wee receive further advise and order from his Maiestie of Spaine.

All this being thus past, the Farmers of pepper and other Marchants that had their goods in Tercera, which were taken out of the lost ship that came from Malacca, seeing that the hope of any Armada, or any ships in the kinges behalfe to be sent to fetch it, was all in vaine: they made request unto his Maiestie, that he would grant them licence every man particularly to ship his goods in what ship he would at his owne adventure, which in the end after long sute was granted, upon condition that every man should put in suerties, to

[1] Orig. Dutch: "wholly". [2] Orig. Dutch: "in the last times".

deliver the goods in the custome house at Lisbone, to the end the king might be paied his custome, as also that the goods that should bee delivered unto them in Tercera, should all bee registred: where upon the Farmers of pepper with other Marchants, agreed with a Flushinger, to fetch al the Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, and other spices and goods that belonged unto them, the Pepper onely excepted, which as then the King would not graunt to lade. The same shippe arrived in Tercera about the last of November, and because it was some what dangerous, being the latter end of the yeare, wee laded her with all the speed we could, for as then the coast was cleare of Englishmen. To bee short, this Flushinger being laden with most part of the goods, saving the Pepper that was left behind, we set saile for Lisbone, passing some small stormes, not once meeting with any ship, but onely uppon the coast where wee saw ten Hollanders, that sayled with corne towards Ligorne; and other places in Italie, and so by Gods helpe upon the second of Ianuarie Anno 1592. we arrived in the river of Lisbone, being nine yeares after my departure from thence, and there I stayed till the month of Iulie, to dispatch such things as I had to doe, and upon the seventeenth of the same month, I went to Sentuval,[1] where certaine Hollanders lay, with whom I went for Holland.

The 22. of Iulie wee set saile, being in all twelve ships, and because we had a contrarie winde, we put out higher into the sea. The 27. of the same month wee had a lasting storme, whereby wee ranne against another ship, being both in a hundred dangers to bee sunke, for we were within a spanne of touching one another: but God holp us, and wee parted from each other, which almost seemed impossible: for that the bore sprite of the ship, that came against us, strake upon our Foukyard, and therewith brake in peeces, and presently thereupon his Fouke-maste fell over borde, whereby hee was

[1] Setubal.

forced to leave the fleete. Another also of our companie had a leake, so that he made towardes the coast againe, where to save the men hee ran the ship on shore, as afterwards we understood, and so we remained but ten in companie.

The 1. of August, being 90. miles in the sea, because the wind held contrarie, so that we could not keepe our right course, we espyed three strange shippes: but were not long before we lost the sight of them againe. The 4. of August there came three other shippes among our fleete, which we perceived to bee Biscaines, whereupon wee made towardes them, and shot certain peeces at them, and so they left us.

The 16. of August the winde being yet contrarie, and because wee were about 15. passengers aborde our shippe, our victuailes (specially our drinke) beganne to faile, so that wee were constrained to keepe an order, and to stint every man to his portion, being as then 120. miles from Heissant[1] inwardes in the sea, under 46. degrees, which is called the half sea. The 18. we had a storme, whereby three of our fleet were left behind, because they could not follow us. The 24. of August we cast out the lead, and found ground, wherewith wee were all glad, for it was the entrance into the channel betweene England and Fraunce. The 27. of August being in the channel, there came two small English shippes to view our fleete, but presently put in againe to the coast of England. The 28. we descried land, being looseward from us, which was Goutster and Dartmouth. The next day we passed by the Isle of Wight, sayling alonge the coast. The 30. of August we put into the head[2] [betwene Dover and Calleys,] where there laye one of the Queenes ships, but she hoised anker and sailed to the coast of England, without lookinge after us, so[3] wee set fower men on shore: and then we had a scant winde, wherwith wee entred into the North sea, not seeing any bodie. The 1. of September being clowdie, we had a storme out of the Northwest, wherby we could not

[1] Ushant. [2] Orig. Dutch: "in de Hoofden" (Strait of Dover).
[3] Orig. Dutch: (add) "near Dover".

descerne land: but in the evening we met with two shippes that came out of the East countries,[1] which told us they had seene land,[2] saying it was [the] Texel, willing us to follow them, and so we discovered lande, being [the] Vlie:[3] but wee thinking it to bee [the] Texell, would no longer follow the other ships, but put so neare unto it that wee were in great danger; and then we perceived that we had deceived our selves, and saw the other ships to take another course towards [the] Texell: but we had the wind so scant and were fallen so low that wee could hardly gette from the shore, and withall we had a sodaine storme; wherewith our Fouke-maste brake, our maine maste being alreadie crackt: where upon wee were fully determined to anker there, and stand upon good comfort and hope in God: and sodainely the wind came better, so that with great paine and labour about Sunne setting wee entred the mouth of the Texel, without any Pylot: for that by reason of the great winde they durst not come out: so that to conclude we got in, and there with thankes given unto God, we ankered. In the morning being the seconde of September, our Gunner thinking to charge the Peeces, and for ioy to shoote them off before the towne, [by fortune] a ladle full of powder tooke fire, and with the force thereof strake off his right hande, and burnt him in many places of his bodie, wherewith our ioy was wholly quailed, and abated. The third of September wee arived in Enchuisen, where I founde my mother, brother and sister, all living and in good health, it being twelve yeares, nine monthes and a halfe after my departure from thence. For the which God Almighty with his sonne Christ Jesus our Saviour, be praised and blessed, to whom belongeth al power, honor and glorie now and for evermore. Amen.

[1] Orig. Dutch: "van Oosten", *i.e.*, from the Baltic.
[2] Orig. Dutch: "reconnoitred the land".
[3] Orig. Dutch: "Vlie-landt" (an island above Texel).

THE END [OF THE FIRST BOOKE].

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Zamorin, *see* Samorin

INDEX II

Viz. of Oriental and other Foreign Words cultured in the Notes of the Editors.

N.B.—In the following index of Foreign words, these are the contractions used:

Ar. for Arabic
Can. for Canarese
Hind. for Hindustani
Jav. for Javanese
Konk. for Konkani
Mahr. for Mahratti
Mal. for Malay
Malm. for Malayālam
Pers. for Persian
Port. for Portuguese
Singh. for Singhalese
Skt. for Sanskrit
Sund. for Sundanese
Tam. for Tamil
Tel. for Telugu
Turk. for Turkish

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